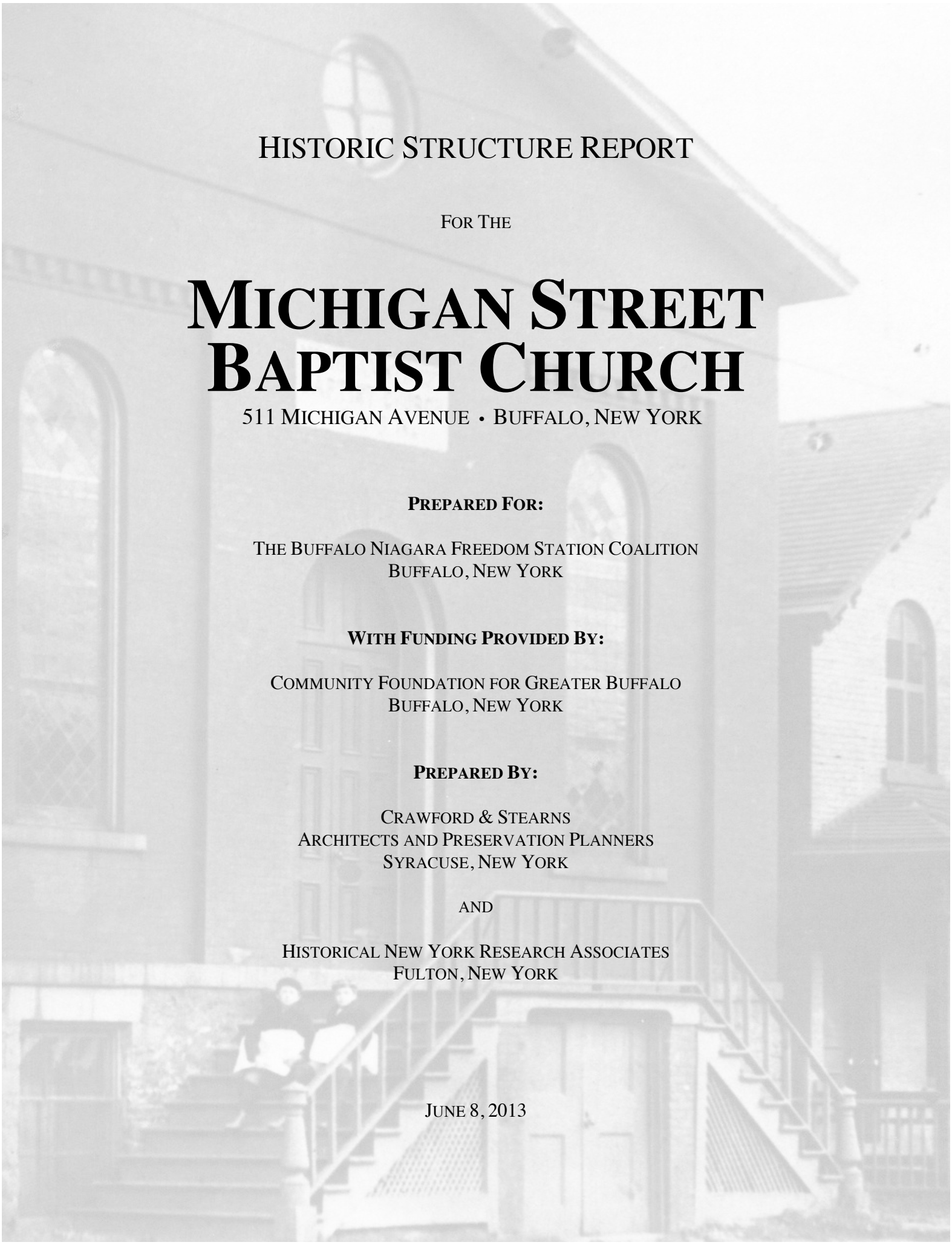

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

FOR THE

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

PREPARED FOR:

THE BUFFALO NIAGARA FREEDOM STATION COALITION
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

WITH FUNDING PROVIDED BY:

COMMUNITY FOUNDATION FOR GREATER BUFFALO
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

PREPARED BY:

CRAWFORD & STEARNS
ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

AND

HISTORICAL NEW YORK RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
FULTON, NEW YORK

JUNE 8, 2013

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Cover: Michigan Street Baptist Church, c.1898-1908. Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum, used by permission.

Frontispiece: Congregation of Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1932. From the Collection of Foit Albert Architects, image labeled "Book 1.4.jpg".

Historic Structure Report: Michigan Street Baptist Church
The Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition / Buffalo, New York

Crawford & Stearns / Architects and Preservation Planners / Syracuse, New York
and Historical New York Research Associates / Fulton, New York
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June 8, 2013

Michigan Avenue Baptist Church and members of the congregation, 1932.

"We are all building some kinds of structures.
It is to our advantage to know how those structures
are pleasing or rather serving God."

- The Reverend J. Edward Nash, March 20, 1898

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE i
FRONTISPIECE ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS iii

INTRODUCTION

A. Foreword & Acknowledgments vii
1. The Michigan Street Baptist Church vii
2. The Michigan Street Baptist Church Historic Structure Report viii
3. Previous Reports viii
4. Recent Rehabilitation Efforts viii
5. Acknowledgments ix

B. Executive Summary x

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORICAL AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

A. Historical Development Overview 1

B. The Context: Buffalo as the Queen City of the Lakes 2

C. Historical Periods of Development 7
1. Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1870 7
2. Michigan Street Baptist Church, Abolitionism, & the Underground Railroad 19
a. Historical Background 20
b. The Underground Railroad & Abolitionism in Buffalo, 1784-1830 26
c. Abolition, African American Rights, & the UGRR in Buffalo, 1830-1850 27
d. Abolition, African American Rights, & the UGRR in Buffalo, 1850s 35
e. Abolitionists & UGRR Activists Affiliated with Michigan Street Baptist Church 39
f. Abolition & UGRR Summary 53
3. Local Decline and National Resurgence: 1870-1922. 54
a. African Americans, Progressivism, and The Social Gospel 59
b. J. Edward Nash and Mary Burnett Talbert 59
4. The Great Migration, Depression, and World War: 1920-1950 74
a. Representative members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1923-1953 76
(1) Frances Jackson Nash 76
(2) Alma McCurry Brooks 77
(3) J. Edward Nash 78
b. Changes at the Church Building 82
5. End of an Era: 1950 to 1975 82
6. Rejuvenation and Remembrance: 1974 to 2013 83

D. Physical Development of Michigan Street Baptist Church 91

CHAPTER TWO: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF BUILDING FABRIC

A. Architectural Descriptions 97
1. Exterior 97
a. Front/West Facade 97
b. North & South Elevations 102

c. East Elevation 107
d. Exonarthex Exterior 110

2. Interior 113

a. R101 – Entry 113
b. R102 – Upper Foyer 115
c. R103, R104, & R104a – Historic Narthex of 1849-1952 118
d. R105 – Stair 124
e. R106 – Auditorium 126
f. R107 – Baptistry 139
g. R108 – Baptistry Office 143
h. R201 – Gallery 145
i. RA01 – Main Attic 148
j. RA02 – East Attic 152
k. RB01 – Basement Foyer 155
l. RB02 – Basement Meeting Room 155
m. RB03 – Southeast Office 161
n. RB04 – Passage 164
o. RB05 – Kitchen 167
p. RB06, RB07, RB08 & RB10 – Basement of Baptistry Addition 170

CHAPTER THREE: SIGNIFICANCE & INTEGRITY

A. Introduction 175

1. Historic & Physical Conditions 175
2. Defining Significance 176

B. Historic Significance & Integrity 177

1. Historic Significance 177
2. Period of Significance 178
3. Historic Integrity 179

C. Historic Significance & Integrity Analysis 179

1. Historic Integrity Statement 179
2. Building Exterior - Significance & Integrity 180
3. Exterior Surfaces Finishes - Significance & Integrity 180
4. Building Interior - Significance & Integrity 181

D Historic Designations & Regulatory Review 194

CHAPTER FOUR: RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

A. Preservation Considerations 197

B. Historic Designation Recommendations 197

1. Network to Freedom Recommendation 197
2. National Historic Landmark Recommendation 198

C. The Preservation Approach & Plan 198

D. Appropriate Preservation Treatments 200

1. Primary Preservation Treatment Recommendation: Rehabilitation 202
2. Specific Preservation Treatment Recommendations 203

a. Church Site, Setting, and Landscape 204
b. Church Exterior Style and Design 204

c. Exterior Elevations (North, South, East & West) 204
d. Accessibility 204
e. Exterior Features 204
f. Church Interior 205

E. Maintenance & Monitoring 210

F. General Deterioration 212

G. Recommendations 212

1. Site & Setting 213
2. Building Exterior 213
3. Building Interior 214

H. Planning Initiatives 216

I. Further Research Recommendations 217

J. Conclusions 219

APPENDICES

Appendix A Notes on Sources

Appendix B Crawford & Stearns Documentation Drawings

Appendix C National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form and Photographs, 1974

Appendix D "*Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church*", 1996. Monroe Fordham

Appendix E Hamilton Houston Lownie "*Historic Structures Report*" 1997

Appendix F Foit Albert Architects – EPF Project Drawings 2007

Appendix G Record of Future Work

- Work Repair & Maintenance Log Form

Appendix H Databases:

Appendix H.1 Michigan Street Neighborhood - 1850 & 1860 Census Data
Appendix H.2 Michigan Street Baptist Church Membership & Affiliations
Appendix H.3 Buffalo Baptist Association's Annual Report Data
Appendix H.4 Michigan Street Baptist Church – List of Ministers
Appendix H.5 Documented Underground Railroad Incidents in Buffalo, New York

Appendix I The Storum Family History

Figure I.1: Detail of the Michigan Street Baptist Church from an undated photograph, believed to be taken between 1898 and 1908. Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum, used by permission. Refer to Figure I.3 for full image.

INTRODUCTION

A. Foreword & Acknowledgments

1. The Michigan Street Baptist Church

The historic Michigan Street Baptist Church is Buffalo's oldest remaining African American church structure and remains in continuous religious use today. The early congregation members were active in pre-Civil War African American abolitionist activities and the landmark building served an important roll in the lives of a changing population in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Throughout its 168-year history this sacred property has played a vital role in Buffalo's African American political, social, and religious activities.

In 1892 the Reverend J. Edward Nash was selected as pastor for the congregation. As a successful preacher and African American advocate Rev. Nash lead the church for more than sixty years until the early-1950s. Under his pastorate the congregation expanded, as did its influence within the community and the Nation. An alliance of parishioners, especially Mary Talbert, with minister J. Edward Nash brought the Michigan Street Baptist Church to national attention, with the formation of the Niagara Movement (the precursor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). Members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church actively supported community institutions such as the NAACP, the YMCA, and the National Association of Colored Women's clubs. Under Nash the building was modernized and the baptistry added, but he felt that it was important to be true to the humble roots of the church and not initiate extensive changes to the 1849 building.

Just before Nash's retirement the church embarked on some improvements that modernized the appearance of the building consistent with 1950s tastes and design influences but within ten years the congregation had purchased and moved to the former Humboldt Parkway Methodist Church. Subsequent congregations including the Macedonia Baptist Church and the present El Bethel Assembly have continued to use the church facility for worship and social events. By the 1990s the building had fallen on hard times and a community initiative raised funds for significant structural and general repairs.

The building is historically renowned for its role in Buffalo's nineteenth and twentieth century African American political, religious, and social activities. Architecturally the simply designed building is reflective of early African American religious efforts in Buffalo. It is a tribute to the congregations that the essence and character of the 1849 design has remained as the backdrop for the building's continuous occupancy. The building today stands as testament to the tenacity and powerful sense of place of Buffalo's historic African American population.

Figure I.2: West facade of the Michigan St. Baptist Church, 2012.

2. The Michigan Street Baptist Church Historic Structure Report

The Historic Structure Report is a document that brings together as much known historic information about the church as possible. In the research process the historic information is brought together with the physical assessment of the building to analyze how the building developed and what historic components are still in place. When there are many historic components of a building in place that clearly illustrate the historic story of a building, the building is said to retain "Historic Integrity" to the times and events that gave it its historic significance. The Historic Structure Report assembles this information together, assesses what the existing conditions are and then makes recommendations as to what are the best ways to protect the historic character (i.e. the historic integrity) for the stewards of the building. In the case of the Michigan Street Baptist Church these recommendations are not intended to be for a restoration, such as a museum, but recommendations that will assure that the historic character remains strong through future planning and improvement initiatives. The Historic Structure Report will become a compendium of history of the church effective of the date of completion. It should however, remain a dynamic document, and be continually reviewed and updated as new information becomes available. The Historic Structure Report sets the tone and philosophy of approach to future work at the building.

3. Previous Reports

There have been numerous papers and reports prepared on the history of the church over the last 125 years that have been very helpful with the preparation of this report. They are found in local repositories and the church archives. In 1996 historian Monroe Fordham, a professor of African American Studies at Buffalo State College, prepared "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" which was published in *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. This was the first history compiled since the National Register of Historic Places nomination in 1973. In 1996-1997 Ted Lownie of Hamilton Houston Lownie Architects, Buffalo prepared a limited Historic Structure Report that served as a basis for numerous projects and further architectural study of the building. This was the first professional evaluation in recent years to address the historic significance and structural conditions at the church. These documents and reports have been of immense help in the preparation of this Historic Structure Report, they are provided in the Appendix of this HSR.

4. Recent Rehabilitation Efforts

In the last ten years the El Bethel Assembly has embarked on ambitious work to stabilize and update the building for continued use. The 1952 work on the building including the Exonarthex, window replacement, and some interior modifications were the last major work done until the 1970s. At that time the new congregation spruced up the interior with the addition of knotty pine paneling in the Auditorium and Exonarthex, made alterations to the east raised platform, and made basic repairs mostly with the work of volunteers and local assistance. By the 1990s the church was again in need of repair. The first project completed under the direction of Hamilton Houston Lownie Architects included the removal of eleven layers of roofing, roof framing repairs, and new asphalt shingle roof.

With the assistance of the various community groups the church successfully applied for and was awarded a New York State Environmental Protection Fund (EPF) matching grant in 2002. Without the grant the building may very well not have survived. The project, directed by Foit-Albert Architects, brought the building back to a safe and respectable sense of utility while rehabilitating numerous historic features. Under the EPF project extensive brick and stone masonry repairs including brick replacement, repointing and foundation parging

repairs were completed. The nearly disintegrated 1896 art glass windows in the front of the church were reconstructed and new aluminum-clad wood frame lancet-style windows were installed in the Auditorium designed to be similar to the 1880s windows. When the work was completed the building exterior was repainted. On the interior many electrical and plumbing system repairs were also completed. In the main story new carpeting, drywall ceiling, and new auditorium doors were installed and new pews acquired from another Buffalo church.

At present, the work of historic restoration of the Michigan Street Baptist Church falls upon the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition, Inc. (BNFSC). The BNFSC was formed to assist the Church in obtaining grants for restoration and in planning its future as a national landmark. Headed by the Hon. Robert Russell, the BNFSC in 2010 concluded an agreement with the Light of the World Missions, in the form of an easement in perpetuity, giving the BNFSC rights for "use, occupancy, maintenance and restoration of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" including its buildings and grounds, "according to guidelines for historic preservation set by the Secretary of the United States Department of the Interior, and by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation." The easement was approved by the New York Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) and was recorded in the office of the Clerk of Erie County at Liber 11191 of Deeds at Page 8887 on November 15, 2010.

5. Acknowledgments

The preparation of this report has required the assistance of a great many people, whose collective expertise has contributed to a greater understanding of the Michigan Street Baptist Church.

A project such as this demands a team effort, and we have been privileged to work with an extraordinarily skilled and knowledgeable group of people. Cynthia Van Ness, Director of Library and Archives at the Buffalo History Museum, knows as much about sources for Buffalo history as anyone living, and she has directed us toward key materials. Lillian Williams is an expert both on Buffalo's African American history and on Mary Burnett Talbert, one of Buffalo's best-known and most important citizens. Tanya Warren is a researcher and database manager *par excellence*, and her organizational skills have helped us make sense of thousands of discrete bits of evidence. Peggy Brooks-Bertram, whose work on the Uncrowned Queens and Uncrowned Community Builders projects is a model for us all, gave extremely helpful pointers to specific research sites.

Every historical research project owes its life to keepers of the records, and ours is no exception. Without the work in collecting primary sources and making them publically accessible—over long periods of time—of librarians and archivists at the Buffalo History Museum, the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, the University at Buffalo, Buffalo State College, the Erie County Clerk's Office, and the American Baptist Historical Society, no project like this could ever be done. In particular, we are immensely grateful to the Buffalo History Museum and their very helpful staff; Dan DiLandro, Special Collections Curator at Buffalo State, and his welcoming and efficient staff; helpful and knowledgeable staff in the Grosvenor Room of the downtown branch of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, and Janet Winfield, who helped us find elusive materials in the American Baptist Historical Society in Atlanta, Georgia. We appreciate the assistance of architectural historian Martin Wachadlo for verifying the construction dates of the 1952 Exonarthex and the 1908 Baptistry and also to Nancy Blumenstalk Mingus for sharing her documentation on architect John H. Coxhead. Staff at the Erie County Clerk's Office graciously and efficiently helped us find records that had not been accessed for many years, perhaps not since their creation. Local people generously shared their own memories of the Michigan Street Baptist

Church, offering information and a personal perspective not available in any written documents. Special thanks to Kevin Cottrell, Bishop William H. Henderson, Priscilla Hill, and Jesse Nash, Jr., for sharing their thoughtful comments.

Special thanks to each member of the greater Buffalo community who has been involved for decades in preserving both the Michigan Street Baptist Church and the Michigan Avenue neighborhood. Kevin Cottrell has been a remarkable catalyst for Underground Railroad projects all across the Niagara Frontier, including the Michigan Street Baptist Church. His commitment to telling stories of freedom and preserving the sites that represent them, along with his energy and his skills as an entrepreneur, historian, and tour developer are unparalleled. Bishop William Henderson, through his personal commitment and that of El Bethel, Light of the World Mission, has kept the Michigan Street Baptist Church and its stories alive. In his own life, he is a remarkable living example of the importance and influence of the Michigan Avenue neighborhood on the larger world, a historical treasure in his own right. George K. Arthur supported this project from the National Register nomination in 1974 to the present and has consistently promoted the Michigan Avenue Preservation Corporation as well as the Nash House Museum. Sandy White helped to organize the Buffalo-Niagara Freedom Station Coalition whose Board remains an indispensable force in preserving the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Thanks to Buffalo-Niagara Freedom Station Commission Chairman Hon. Robert Russell and board members Carl Morgan, Rhonda A. Ricks, Richard Berger, Esq., and Gretchen Dade for meeting with the team to review work in progress. Felix L. Armfield has helped keep the stories of the Michigan Street Baptist Church alive through his work with the Nash House Museum. We are grateful to Rev. Clarence W. Montgomery, Jr., pastor of El Bethel Assembly - Light of the World Mission, Inc., who has welcomed our team to the Michigan Street Baptist Church for countless meetings and explorations of the church's nooks from attic to basement.

Many, many thanks for the consistent and enthusiastic support of Jean McKeown, Senior Program Officer at the Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo, Inc., which funded this Historic Structure Report. Our appreciation is extended also to preservation architect Andrea Rebeck, working as consultant to both the Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo and Preservation Buffalo Niagara, who has provided general project coordination, much needed key information, supplemental research, a keen editing eye, and insight from her remarkable knowledge of sources relating to Buffalo's architectural history. The interest and financial support from the Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo is a vital contribution to the preservation of this significant historic resource.

As with every historical work relating to African Americans in Buffalo, the spirit and work of Monroe Fordham (1939-2012), Professor of History at Buffalo State College, infuses this report. His memory lives through all of us.

B. Executive Summary

The Michigan Street Baptist Church is an architecturally and historically significant church building through its association with early African American history, for its association with prominent regional and national individuals affiliated with abolition, the Underground Railroad & African American social reform movements, and as an excellent example of a pre-Civil War era vernacular community church building.

The church as both building and institution is an important anchor to the Near East Side neighborhood and the Michigan Avenue corridor. The building retains its historic architectural integrity and should be preserved and restored for ongoing and future use. The features of Michigan Street Baptist Church establish and define the historic character that has survived over 160 years of development and associated alterations.

The Historic Structure Report contains a considerable amount of detail regarding historical background, physical development, building fabric analysis, significance assessments, and recommendations. This HSR is designed to be an active working document to help guide the future work and ultimate rehabilitation and preservation of this important landmark. Stewards of the facility should plan for and institute the appropriate short and long-term goals as outlined in the report. These actions will ultimately lead to a well-maintained historic resource that is preserved and protected in order to pass it on to future generations.

This Historic Structure Report should not, however, be considered the completion of study on the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Further efforts should be instituted to prepare a long-range Master Plan, Preservation Plan, Disaster Preparedness Plan, Maintenance Plan & Schedule, Landscape Study, and Accessibility Evaluation and Recommendations.

The historic Michigan Street Baptist Church building has provided both spiritual and social support for its members for over 168 years through a strong network of family, fellowship, and community ties. Even though the original congregation has moved to another building, this church has been home to a devoted congregation since 1975 and it continues to provide sanctuary for both spiritual and social needs of the greater Buffalo community. As the neighborhood goes through rebirth and change, the building has the opportunity to continue its legacy for a new generation of African American Buffalonians.

Remaining true to the historic directions of the church congregations and remaining true to the historic integrity of the building will serve to provide a spectacular place for worship and social events within the context of respect for and appreciation of those who went before.

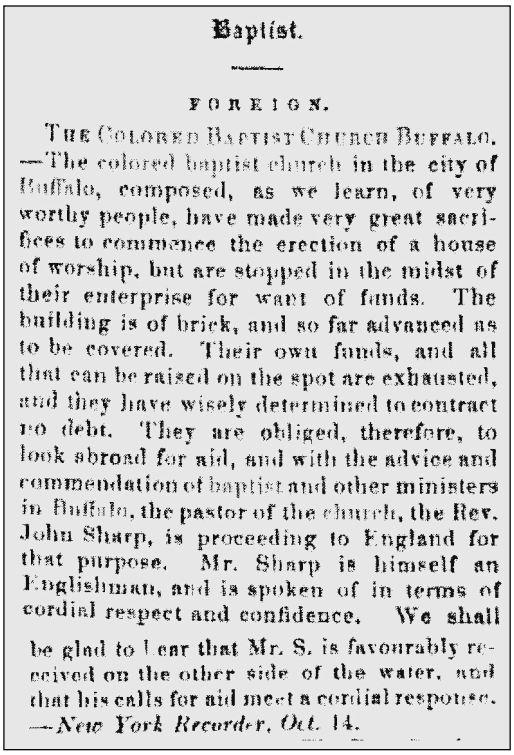
Figure I.3: Michigan Street Baptist Church. Undated photograph but believed to be taken between 1898 and 1908. Courtesy of Buffalo History Museum, used by permission.

Figure I.4: The historic Michigan Street Baptist Church, 2012.

CHAPTER ONE: HISTORIC DEVELOPMENT

A. Historical Development Overview

On March 28, 1836, "colored Male Persons of full age" who had been worshipping together regularly in a brick schoolhouse on South Division Street, met to incorporate themselves as the Second Baptist Society of the City of Buffalo. Under the direction of Elder Reuben Malvin, they elected five trustees--Green Givens, William P. Cook, Abner H. Francis, John Dandridge, and Henry Jackson. They reorganized in 1844 with six trustees (Peyton Harris, William Qualls, John Dandridge, Charles E. Smith, Henry K. Thomas, and Carr Johnson). With the exception of Carr Johnson, this group would remain the foundation of the Michigan Street Baptist Church for decades. By 1845, they had purchased land just east of downtown on Michigan Street. They dedicated their new brick house of worship in 1849, which by 1851 became known as the Michigan Street Baptist Church. With the Vine Street African Methodist Episcopal Church (formed in 1831), and a small Presbyterian Church, the Michigan Street Baptist Church formed one of three African American churches in Buffalo before the Civil War.[1]



Baptist.

FOREIGN.

THE COLORED BAPTIST CHURCH BUFFALO.—The colored baptist church in the city of Buffalo, composed, as we learn, of very worthy people, have made very great sacrifices to commence the erection of a house of worship, but are stopped in the midst of their enterprise for want of funds. The building is of brick, and so far advanced as to be covered. Their own funds, and all that can be raised on the spot are exhausted, and they have wisely determined to contract no debt. They are obliged, therefore, to look abroad for aid, and with the advice and commendation of baptist and other ministers in Buffalo, the pastor of the church, the Rev. John Sharp, is proceeding to England for that purpose. Mr. Sharp is himself an Englishman, and is spoken of in terms of cordial respect and confidence. We shall be glad to hear that Mr. S. is favourably received on the other side of the water, and that his calls for aid meet a cordial response. —*New York Recorder, Oct.* 14.

Figure 1.1: Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer, Vol, 20. December 1846, page 502.

For African Americans, as for other Buffalo immigrants, churches formed the anchor of community life. The Michigan Street Baptist Church provided spiritual and social support for its members through a strong network of family and community ties. Baptist churches everywhere are based on control by local congregations, a commitment to individual conscience, and a belief in equal rights for all people. The Michigan Street Baptist Church epitomized these values, nurturing strong and independent local leaders.

At the same time, the Michigan Street Baptist Church was connected to a larger network of Baptist churches (organized in the Buffalo Baptist Association). They also were part of an interdenominational network of other churches and community organizations in Buffalo. Finally, they were part of a larger network of reform institutions relating especially to abolitionism throughout the state and nation. Through these connections, the church challenged its members, as Baptists and Americans, to be aware of their responsibilities in the larger world. In so doing, members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church were part of an interracial coalition that worked for

[1] Second Baptist Society of Buffalo, Incorporation Papers, March 31, 1836, File 13088, Misc. Book 1, p. 283, Erie County Clerk's Office; Bennett & Marvin's Map of Outer Lot No. 117 and Parts of Outer Lots Nos. 110 & 118, 1832," Liber 24, p. 331, Erie County Clerk's Office; Second Baptist Society of Buffalo, "On the Matter of the application of the Second Baptist Society of the city of Buffalo for leave to mortgage their real estate," File 13088, April 10, 1868, Erie County Clerk's Office. Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836 - 1908," typescript, America Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, noted that the group first met in November 1836 over an undertaker's business at Niagara and Eagle Streets. It is possible that they met in both places in the early years. The Buffalo City Directory for 1842 listed this location as Niagara near Pearl, very near Eagle Street, also the address of Elbridge Farwell's undertaking establishment. Buffalo Baptist Association annual reports gave various dates for the establishment of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. By at least 1885, however, they settled on November 28, 1836, as the correct date.

African American rights and supported key community and reform institutions, both locally and nationally, from the 1840s until they left this building in 1962.

Many members of this church reflected a cosmopolitan worldview. They brought news from their own families and communities around the nation and the world. Some reflected the greater African Diaspora in Canada, Haiti, and Liberia. Many had migrated from one of several different states in the Northeast. Many more were southern-born coming especially from Virginia and the Chesapeake Bay area and states such as Kentucky and Tennessee, just south of the Ohio River, with a handful of people from the Carolinas and Georgia.

As new migrants came into Buffalo, the Michigan Street Baptist Church became a key source of help. Both in the 19th and 20th centuries, most of these new migrants came from the South. In the 19th century, many church members, elders, deacons, and ministers had escaped from slavery. Church members became a key part of the area's Underground Railroad network. While we have no specific evidence to date that the church building itself provided shelter to people who traveled on to Canada, we know that the building and the congregation offered a haven for years, decades, and even lifetimes for many people who escaped from slavery and settled in Buffalo. In the 20th century, the Michigan Street Baptist Church performed a similar function, creating a network of support and socialization for southern Americans who relocated to Buffalo in the Great Migration from 1915-1940.

In the early twentieth century, the Michigan Street Baptist Church (like many churches, both African American and European American) strongly reflected not only a powerful spiritual message but also a commitment to social justice, influenced by the Social Gospel movement and emerging Progressivism. An alliance of parishioners, especially Mary Talbert, with minister J. Edward Nash brought the Michigan Street Baptist Church to national attention, with the formation of the Niagara Movement (precursor to the NAACP) in the Talbert home and the work of Mary Talbert in the National Association of Colored Women's clubs. Led by Rev. Nash, members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church actively supported community institutions such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the YMCA, and the Urban League. Many also served in World War I and World War II.

In 1962, the congregation of the Michigan Street Baptist Church sold their building to the Macedonia Baptist Church and moved less than 3 miles away to the former Humboldt Parkway Methodist Church. In 1975, the El Bethel Assembly - Light of the World Missions, bought the building. Under Bishop William Henderson, the congregation has worked to maintain the church and interpret its importance to a broad public audience. At the same time, the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation and later the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition, with strong citizen support from George K. Arthur, Kevin Cottrell, Sandy White, and many others organized to promote a historic district on Buffalo's east side, anchored by the Michigan Street Baptist Church, the J. Edward Nash House, and the Colored Musicians' Club.

B. The Context: Buffalo as the Queen City of the Lakes

In 1801, the Holland Land Company laid out what would become the City of Buffalo on land the company purchased from the Seneca Indians after the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797. By 1813, a small village and military post stood at the mouth of Buffalo Creek, while a Seneca village of about 700 people sat five miles up the creek, east of Buffalo village. The War of 1812 devastated settlements on the Niagara Frontier, including Buffalo. In December 1813, the British burned all but two of Buffalo's buildings. But Buffalo recovered quickly. By 1817, one hundred houses had been built locally. In 1820, 2095 people lived within Buffalo's boundaries. Buffalo officially became a village in 1822, and a year later a courthouse, jail, and 300 buildings stood at the mouth of Buffalo Creek.

In 1832, Buffalo officially became a city. Its 10,000 residents faced a bright future of seemingly limitless growth.[2]

The village of Black Rock stood about two miles north of Buffalo, where the Niagara River met Lake Erie. For twenty-five cents a person (or fifty cents for a person on a horse), a ferry took passengers the three-quarters of a mile across the river to Waterloo, about a mile north of Fort Erie, in Upper Canada. In 1853, Buffalo absorbed the community of Black Rock.

Buffalo's economic strength came from its geography. It lay on the eastern shore of Lake Erie, where the Niagara River flowed north to the famous Niagara Falls and then into Lake Ontario. Before the 1820s, people reached Buffalo from the east by road. Through most of the next thirty years, stagecoaches continued to carry passengers to and from Buffalo, Rochester, Canandaigua, and points east.

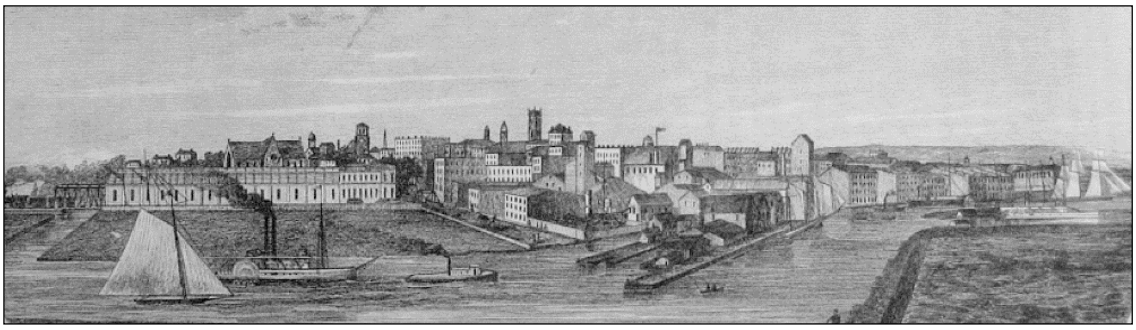


Figure 1.2: "Buffalo Harbor from the Lighthouse" about 1860. J.H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York*, after p. 288. R. Pearsall Smith, Publisher, Syracuse, NY.

By 1825, however, the Erie Canal guaranteed Buffalo's future as a premier port city. Running 363 miles between Albany and Buffalo, the canal shifted the pattern of trade in the whole northeastern United States and upper Great Lakes region. Great Lakes trade had once gone south to New Orleans but after completion of the Erie Canal, trade from the upper lakes came east through Buffalo to New York City.

The Erie Canal made Buffalo the largest Great Lakes port and New York City the largest city in the nation. Straddling east and west, Buffalo was the linchpin that connected the entire northeastern seaboard with the upper Great Lakes and Canada. From the upper Great Lakes came furs, lumber, iron ore, and agricultural goods. Eastern cities and factories sent manufactured goods--iron rails to build western railroads; iron pumps to bring water to prairie farms; iron plows, harvesters, and other agricultural implements to make farming productive; and all kinds of consumer goods—cloth, mirrors, carpets, and furniture, e.g., to enhance the lives of western families.[3]

Sailing ships carried much of the bulk produce on the Great Lakes. Two to four-masted schooners were the backbone of trade in heavy cargo. But steam power added to Buffalo's importance. In 1819, the *Walk-in-the-Water* became the first steamboat to sail out of Buffalo harbor. By 1834, eighteen steamboats came in and out of Buffalo's port and by 1841 there were 48. Beginning in 1841, many of these steamboats were driven by propellers mounted at the stern. They were sleek

[2] Horatio Gates Spafford, *Gazetteer of New-York* (Albany: H.C. Southwick, 1813), 144; John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1846), 147-48.

[3] John H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, N.Y., R.P. Smith, 1860), 285, lists commodities, amounts, and value of various types of imports into Buffalo.

and narrow compared to the side-wheelers, and much more fuel-efficient. By 1851, there were 52 propeller-driven boats on the Great Lakes. By 1860, there were 118.

Steamboat travel on the Great Lakes grew even more rapidly when feeder canals opened up larger sections of agricultural lands in Ohio (1833), Illinois (1848), and Indiana (1851). Ohio sent 543,815 bushels of wheat by water in 1835, but this grew exponentially until, by the 1860s, 26,000,000 bushels came out of Ohio, much of it carried directly to Buffalo or its sister ports of Rochester and Oswego, on Lake Ontario.

Lake travel, important as it was, would be challenged by an emerging railway system, integrated into a regional system that bound the eastern seaboard to the Midwest. In the 1850s, short railroad lines merged to create a national and international (including Canada) railroad system. Six of these rail lines converged on Buffalo before the Civil War. Large as Buffalo's port activity was, by 1860 railroads carried more freight than either canal or lake boats. To avoid competition from water transportation, railroads built steamboats and formed joint railroad-steamboat companies, integrating steam transportation on both water and land, and creating a virtually seamless experience for passengers using steam travel. Travelers could ride in comfort by railroad from Buffalo to Detroit through Ontario. Or they could reserve equally luxurious accommodations to travel by steamboat across Lake Erie.

Whether luxurious or plain, steamboats became the premier form of passenger travel on Lake Erie. In 1854, e.g., the New York Central Railroad and the Michigan Central Railroad built the *Western World* and *Plymouth Rock*. Both were "sensations," noted one observer, "the finest steamboats on the Great Lakes," with stained glass domes and rosewood furniture. Travelers leaving the port of Buffalo could reach Detroit in fourteen hours or less. Travelers could leave Buffalo at 5:30 in the afternoon and be in Detroit the next morning.[4]

Most notably for African Americans in these lake port cities, both railroads and passenger steamboats hired African American men as stewards. These prized positions brought a stable source of income for African American families. They enabled African Americans to remain in contact with a wide network of family and friends throughout the Great Lakes hinterland. And they also provided an opportunity for African Americans to assist others to freedom on the Underground Railroad.

Beginning in 1820, Buffalo, with help from both federal and state governments, began to develop what became its extensive harbor facilities. Buffalo Creek ran parallel to the lakeshore for more than a mile, lined all the way with wharves. A federally-constructed lighthouse stood at the end of a 1500 foot pier and breakwater. The Erie Canal entered Buffalo from the north, where it ran along the east side of the Niagara River, separated from the river by a break wall. Near the mouth of Buffalo Creek, the canal ran east, where it entered two large basins, the Erie basin and the Ohio basin, built by New York State between 1848 and 1858. Both were deep enough to float the largest lake boats. A mile-long ship canal paralleled both the west side of Buffalo Creek and the east shore of Lake Erie.[5]

By the 1860s, this harbor was crowded with boats of all descriptions, from small rowboats to canal boats to lake schooners to elegant steamboats. No wonder people nicknamed Buffalo the "Queen City of the Lakes." Buffalo, noted geographer John H. French, was "the most important [commercial city] upon the great lakes."[6]

[4] "Steamboats of the Great Lakes,"
http://www.mfhn.com/glsdb/files/STEAMBOATS%20OF%20THE%20GREAT%20LAKES.html.

[5] John H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, N.Y., R.P. Smith, 1860), 284-85.

[6] John H. French, *Gazetteer of the State of New York* (Syracuse, N.Y., R.P. Smith, 1860), 284-85.

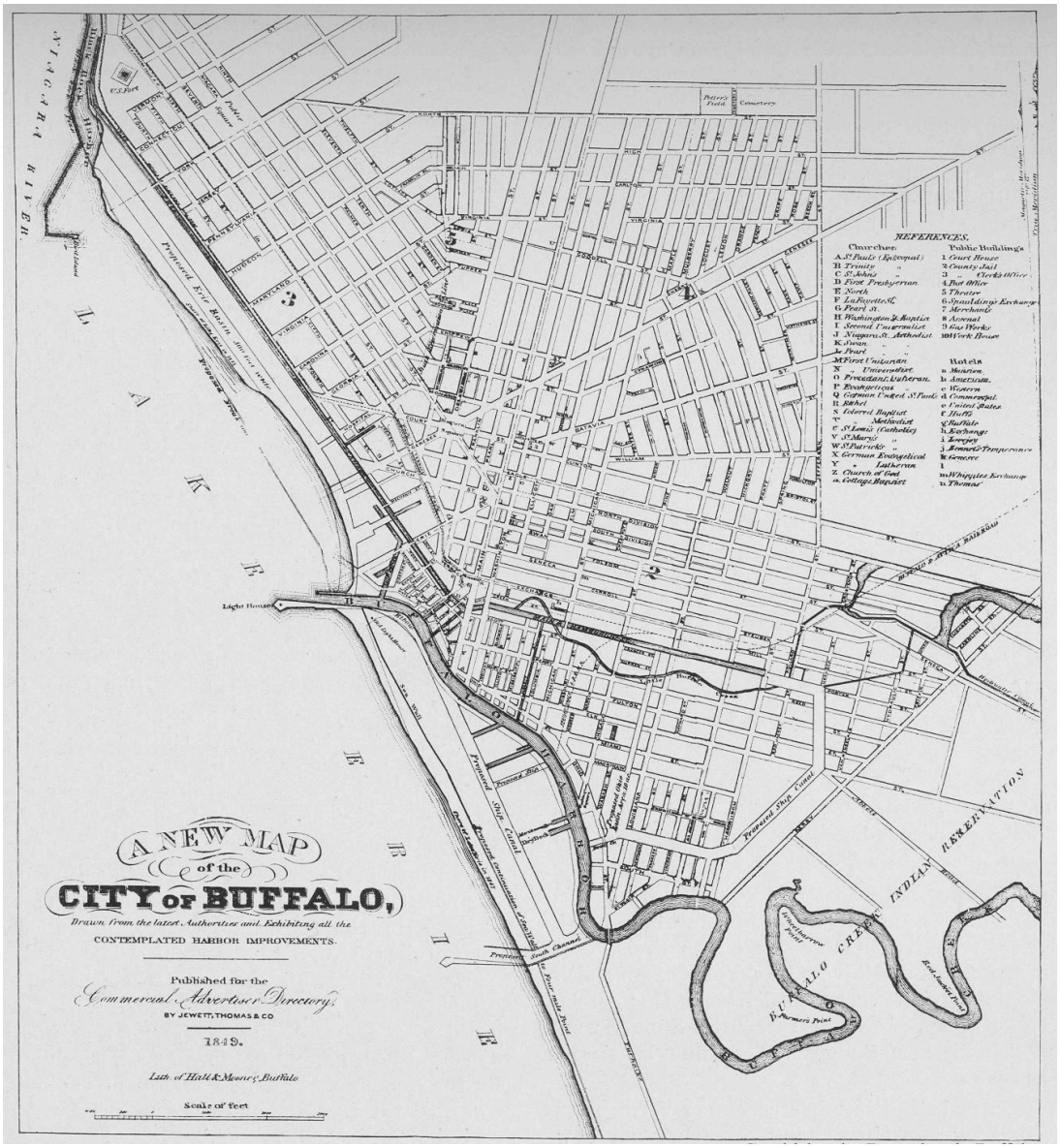


Figure 1.3: "A New Map of the City of Buffalo, published by Jewett, Thomas, & Co., 1849". Note that listed in the Reference key under Churches is an "S" designated "Colored Baptist". The map maker/publisher has incorrectly used the previous location for the Baptist congregation and the Michigan Street site of the new church is therefore unmarked on the map. http://www.archivaria.com/GdDhistory/Buffalo1849.jpg

When the Michigan Street Baptist Church was formed in 1836, Buffalo was in the middle of explosive growth. Drawn by a dynamic economy and fueled by extensive immigration, especially from Germany, the city's population more or less doubled every decade from 1830 to 1860.[7]

Along with immigrant European Americans, African Americans migrated to Buffalo, many from southern states, drawn not only by economic opportunity but also by the city's close ties with Canada. In 1830, Buffalo's population totaled 8,668. As historian Jean Richardson noted, only 219 of these (2.5 percent) were African American. Through city directory research, noted African American pioneer historian Monroe Fordham identified fifty-nine "Names of Coloured" heads of families in Buffalo in 1828 and sixty-eight by 1832, when Buffalo became a city. They lived mostly

[7] "Buffalo, New York," Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo,_New_York

in the Fourth Ward, just east of Buffalo's downtown, between South Division Street and North Street, bisected by Michigan Street.[8]

In 1837, Charles B. Ray, editor of the New York City-based *Colored American*, visited Buffalo, raising money for his newspaper. He estimated the number of "Colored Citizens" in Buffalo as from five to seven hundred and noted that about a hundred of the men were "constantly engaged on the lake and in canal boats, and are seldom at home" long enough to be useful in supporting his paper. Ray's population estimate was fairly accurate: the 1840 census listed 503 African Americans in Buffalo. If one-fifth of them were adult males (a reasonable estimate for populations in this period), then by Ray's estimate almost all adult males were employed on the lake. A sample of African Americans in the immediate neighborhood of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, however, suggests that people held a wide variety of occupations: barber, cook, laborer, preacher, waiter, and white washer.[9]

Overall, Ray was very impressed with African Americans in Buffalo, he noted:

> The colored community of Buffalo are, in many respects, above any community of our people I have visited during my western tour. In regard to mind, enterprise, appearance, and profound respectability, they are not only an honour to themselves, and to the colored community at large, but an honour to Buffalo, and would be, were they known, to the country. Any community may pride itself with having among them such a class of citizens. They have among them two Religious Societies, one Benevolent, and three Literary, one Female [most probably the Female Dorcas Society] and two Male, Juvenile and Adult. The males spend their winter evenings in Debating Moral and Political questions. Their school is for the present discontinued for want of a Teacher. Their children are in attendance at the white private schools. Finally, so much was I pleased with the people there, that I was quite loth to leave them.[10]

Certainly one reason that Ray found such pleasure in the company of African Americans in Buffalo was that they paid for thirty-two subscriptions to his newspaper and donated about $100—including a ten dollar donation from the Female Dorcas Society--to its support.

Although Buffalo's African American population grew, it did not keep pace proportionally with European American expansion, and the percentage of African Americans dropped throughout the pre-Civil War period, from 2.8 percent of the total population in 1840 to only one percent of the total in 1860. In 1840, e.g., the city's total population reached 18,213, with 503 African Americans forming 2.8 percent of the total.[11] By 1850, the overall population again more than doubled, to 42,261, but its 675 African Americans formed only 1.6 percent of the total. In 1855, Buffalo counted 74,214 people, with 784 African Americans, 1.1 percent of the total. And by 1860, fully 80,320 people lived in the city, but the 809 African Americans formed only one percent of the total.[12]

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[8] Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 21:1 (January 1997), 1. Population figures come from "Comparative Population of Towns and Counties at different periods," *Census of the State of New York State, 1855* (Albany: Charles van Benthuysen, 1857), xx, 5, and Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life an History* 27:2 (July 2003).

[9] Charles B. Ray, *Colored American*, November 4, 1837.

[10] Ibid.

[11] John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1846), opp. 148.

[12] Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 27:2 (July 2003), 29.

Along with population, the city grew physically. In 1840, it counted about 2000 houses, with thirteen churches, three banks, and five weekly and two daily newspapers. One of those churches was the nascent Second Baptist Church (later called the Michigan Street Baptist Church), organized on March 28, 1836, by thirteen African Americans, Baptists who withdrew from the predominantly European American Washington Street Baptist Church to form their own independent congregation. This church would grow up with Buffalo itself, an integral part of an expanding urban economy.[13]

C. Historical Periods of Development

1. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1870

On Monday, March 28, 1836, a group of "colored Male Persons of full age who belong to and statedly worship with the second Baptist Church and congregation," led by Elder Reuben Malvin, met in the brick schoolhouse on South Division Street to elect trustees and incorporate a religious society. They had been regularly meeting for weekly Sunday worship at this schoolhouse. Now, they resolved, "that this Meeting proceed to the Organization of themselves and their successors into a religious Society to be called and known as 'The second Baptist Society of the City of Buffalo.' With the guidance of Elder Malvin and John L. Watson, they elected five trustees, all members of the congregation, to take charge of church property. The first trustees were Green Givens, William P. Cook, Abner H. Francis, John Dandridge, and Henry Jackson. Givens and Dandridge signed with their mark. The rest signed their names. The group directed the trustees to order a sign, "of suitable metal," engraved in a circular form with "SECOND BAP. SOC. Buffalo."[14]

Rev. Monroe, like many of his successors, served several churches in the Great Lakes area, in both the U.S. and Canada. He was especially connected to Buffalo and Detroit. Rev. Monroe served the Second Baptist Church in Buffalo in the late 1830s (1837-1840) and the Second Baptist Church in Detroit in the mid-1840s. Monroe was not listed in the Buffalo city

[13] John Barber and Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (New York: S. Tuttle, 1846), 147-48.

[14] "The Colored Society of Buffalo," March 29, 1836, Miscellaneous Book 1, p. 283, Erie County Clerk's Office. In 1908, Mary Talbert noted that African Americans from the Washington Street Baptist Church, facilitated by its pastor, Rev. Elisha Tucker, first met to discuss the formation of a separate congregation on March 9, 1836. Then, "during the fall of the year 1836, thirteen men and women withdrew from the parent church, and formed the Second Baptist Church of Buffalo," in Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum." Later reports of the Buffalo Baptist Association, beginning at least as early as 1885, gave the date of the organizational meeting as November 28, 1836. Sources for the early history of the Michigan Street Baptist Church are varied. One of the most important is a speech given in 1908 by church member Mary Burnett Talbert. Talbert relied heavily on memories of Emeline Coy. Coy, with her sister Sarah, had been born in Virginia, likely in slavery. Emeline Coy migrated to Buffalo sometime before 1842, when she joined the Michigan Street Baptist Church about age seventeen. In 1860, the Buffalo City Directory listed Emeline Coy as a boarding house owner, living with her sister Sarah at 381 Michigan Street. When Coy recorded her reminiscences in 1904, she was seventy-nine years old, "in good health, with a vivid and clear recollection of the many incidents connected with her Church," noted Talbert. Talbert's essay, with Emeline Coy's reminiscences, forms the best primary source for the early history of this church. Annual reports from the Buffalo Baptist Association, Buffalo city directories, and newspaper articles (both from local newspapers and from abolitionist and African American publications) provide more details. An essay by historian Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," is an essential secondary source, while Felix Armfield, Director of the Nash House, has explored photographic material, relating to Rev. J. Edward Nash from the twentieth century. Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum. Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History, 1996; Felix Armfield, Western New York; Felix Armfield, "J. Edward Nash and the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church," podcast, 2006, http://newsandevents.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/lecture-j-edward-nash-and-michigan-avenue-baptist-church. Monroe Fordham attributed the 1908 history of the Michigan Street Baptist Church to Rev. J. Edward Nash, but this essay was clearly written and delivered by Mary Talbert. The end of the essay noted, "Written and read by Mrs. William H. Talbert at the re-opening of the Church December 27, 1908." References to this manuscript will be attributed here to Talbert rather than Nash.

directories for 1836 through 1839, but he clearly identified himself as a Buffalo citizen, acting as agent for the *Colored American* and as President of the Union Moral and Mental Improvement Society. He first appeared in Buffalo directories in 1840, living on Michigan Street near Sycamore, where he was listed as "William Munroe," pastor of 2nd Baptist Church. At the same time, he may have been serving as pastor of Second Baptist Church in Detroit. Monroe was still listed as living in Buffalo at least through 1842, but he continued to serve the Detroit Baptists until 1845, when he became an Episcopal priest and helped organize St. Matthews Episcopal Church in Detroit.[15]

Figure 1.4: Rev. William Monroe from "Brief History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1946", Detroit, Michigan, 1946.

Rev. Monroe also established two more patterns that would be common to several early ministers of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. First, he was southern-born, perhaps once enslaved in Maryland. Second, he was an active abolitionist. He worked not only within the Baptist fold but he was also part of a strong statewide and national network of black abolitionists. In 1840, he was elected as delegate (although he did not attend) to the Convention of the Colored Inhabitants of the State of New York, held in Albany, N.Y., with two other stalwart abolitionists from Buffalo, merchant Abner Francis and Rev. George Weir, pastor of Buffalo's Vine Street African Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1853, while he was living in Detroit, he was elected president of the New York State convention of African Americans, held in Rochester, New York.[16]

In 1846, several members of Detroit's Second Baptist Church, including pastor William C. Monroe and William Lambert, civic leader and Underground Railroad activist, withdrew to form St. Matthews Protestant Episcopal Church. William Monroe became an Episcopal priest and served this congregation, the most prominent African American church in Detroit, for many years. In 1859, Rev. Monroe resigned as vicar in Detroit to work as a missionary with the American Colonization Society in Liberia. St. Matthews church declined in prominence, and from 1864 to 1880, it existed only as a Sunday School in the European American dominated Christ Church. Rev. Monroe spent many years in Liberia until his death "several years later."[17]

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[15] Buffalo city directories, 1836-42; *Colored American,* November 3, 1838, and November 19, 1840; Monroe Fordham, "The Antebellum Reform Movement of Black Buffalonians," *Courier Express Magazine*, October 26, 1975, 26, suggested that the William C. Monroe who served the Detroit Baptist Church was most likely not the same person who helped organize the Buffalo Baptists. The close connection between Baptists in Buffalo and Detroit, together with the unlikelihood that two African American pastors would have had the same name suggests this may have been the same person. It is interesting to note that there is no listing for a William Mo(u)nroe in the Buffalo directories of 1836, 1837, 1838 or 1839. His first census entry is 1850 in Detroit, when he listed his birthplace as Maryland, 1805, with (2nd) wife Mary, b. 1823 in Michigan. All listed as mulatto including children: dau. Mareaber, age 16 b. Maine; William, Jr. age 14, b. West Indies; Marilia, age 4, b. Michigan; son Ranchart, age 2, b. Michigan.

[16] John W. Cromwell, *The Early Negro Convention Movement* (Washington, D. C., 1904), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/31328/31328-h/31328-h.htm; *Colored American*, June 18, 1840.

[17] Detroit African American History Project, http://www.daahp.wayne.edu/1800_1849.html; The Pluralism Project at Harvard University, "St. Matthews and St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, http://www.pluralism.org/profiles/view/71797; *St. Mathews Episcopal Church, Detroit*, *Centennial, 1846-1946*, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015071464195;num=1;seq=1;view=1up.

When Rev. Monroe left in 1840, the church had a congregation of nineteen members. In the early 1840s, it struggled with a succession of five temporary ministers. Four of them were European Americans. Brother William Verrinder, a European American abolitionist minister, shepherded this flock for about a year. Under his care, Second Baptist in 1840 for the first time went to the Buffalo Baptist Association. They "seem rather in a downcast state," read the Buffalo Baptist Association report. "Elder Munroe has left them, but they enjoy the labors of brother Verrinder, and beg your prayers for them."[18]

Figure 1.5: In 1841, Rev. Abel Brown, radical European American abolitionist, editor, and Underground Railroad activist, was most likely the Rev. A. Brown who served the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Catharine Brown, *Abel Brown, Abolitionist*, ed. Tom Calarco (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2006).

Brother Verrinder was succeeded by Rev. Mr. Jeffrey, "a white ordained minister," noted Mary Talbert. Rev. Jeffrey stayed through 1841. He was followed by Rev. A. Brown, perhaps the radical abolitionist and Underground Railroad activist Abel Brown. Born in Springfield, Massachusetts, about 1810, Brown became a powerful abolitionist editor and speaker. He spent some time in Buffalo, where he had "a little skirmish" about his abolitionist views before his death in Canandaigua, New York, in 1844.[19]

A pair of ministers, American Rev. Stephen Dutton and Englishman Rev. John Sharp, succeeded Rev. Brown. Rev. Dutton, whom Mary Talbert called "a colored preacher from Toronto," began to serve Buffalo Baptists in 1841. He went as a delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association in 1841, along with deacons William Qualls and Peyton Harris. He continued to serve the Buffalo Church in 1842, baptizing many new converts and bringing the total number in the congregation up to 49. The report of Second Baptist Church to the Buffalo Baptist Association noted Rev. Dutton's success in recruiting new members. "The Lord has been very merciful to us and has added many [to our members], such as we trust will be saved. They desire . . . prayers of God's people, that his blessings may [be] upon them."[20]

[18] *Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Buffalo, (formerly Holland Purchase) Baptist Association, Held with the Springville Church, in Springville, on the 9th and 10th September 1840* (Lodi: Edwin Hough, 1840), 14, 4; Talbert, "History," 2. Identification of Brother Verrinder as William Verrinder, in [Christopher Densmore], "Western New York Anti-Slavery Societies," in "Religion, Reform, and the Underground Railroad," http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/ASS-WNY.html;

[19] Catherine S. Brown, *Abel Brown, Abolitionist*, ed. Tom Calarco; *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer* 20 (December 1846), 504; *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer* 21 (May 1847), 167, 204.

[20] Talbert, 2; *Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Buffalo, (formerly Holland Purchase) Baptist Association, Held with th14 Baptist Church in Strykersville, on the 9th and 15th of September, 1842* (Lodi: Edwin Hough, 1842), 13. *The Journal of Negro History*: "The Wilberforce Settlement in Canada," 10:10 (July 1925), 368 in Siebert Collection at http://www.ohiomemory.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/siebert. Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World*, 133, Google Books.

Rev. Dutton had served as pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal church in Brooklyn in 1823. By the late 1830s, he was in Toronto, perhaps working as a barber. On January 13, 1838, he was elected president of a meeting of "colored inhabitants" in Toronto. One of the resolutions protested the action of the American Congress in passing a gag rule, refusing to accept petitions against slavery:

> That we have learned with the most painful and indignant feelings, the continued determined opposition which is arrayed against the friends of our colored brethren in the United States, in their efforts to secure the inalienable right of personal freedom to two millions and a half of human beings, who are held by tyrants in a state of abject slavery, and especially manifested in a resolution of the American Congress, as published in a recent number of the Emancipator, the effect of which is to stifle the voice of complaint and remonstrance, however respectfully presented in the petitions of the free in behalf of the oppressed.[21]

News of this meeting was reprinted widely, in both the U.S. and Canada. Charles B. Ray, editor of the *Colored American*, called Toronto "An Asylum for the Oppressed." "Of this appellation we have boasted," he noted. "How galling it is to every true American that the oppressed are compelled to escape from us for an asylum. - There are said to be 5000 fugitives from American oppression in Canada . . . . think of our country's reproach."[22]

By April 1841, Rev. Dutton was back in New York City, raising money on behalf of the Baptist Church in Toronto, which wanted to build a meetinghouse. "Brother Dutton bears testimonials of the first character from well known brethren in Canada and in the United States," noted *The Colored American*, "and is recommended by ministering brethren in this city, who have been for many years acquainted with him." Rev. Dutton may also have been the same Stephen Dutton who worked with the Wilberforce Colony near London, Ontario, Canada, designed to be a haven for U.S. African Americans who fled slavery. This connection with Wilberforce is strengthened by the presence of Englishman Rev. Sharpe, the minister who succeeded Rev. Dutton in Buffalo in 1842.[23]

In 1842, Rev. Verrinder represented local Baptists at the state Baptist convention. The convention took a strong abolitionist stand. "Resolved," they wrote, "that the System of Slavery is alike opposed to the spirit of the Gospel and the Principles of Justice, that we have no fellowship with it, and we recommend to the members the use of all suitable means to effect its entire abolition."[24]

In 1842, Rev. Sharpe extended the right hand of fellowship to Emeline Coy, who continued as a member until her death in January 1905. Rev. Sharpe served the Buffalo Baptists, either alone (for part of the year in 1843, when the membership reached 56) or with Samuel H. Davis (1844) or Rev. Jeffries (in 1845). Jeffries, an African American minister from New York, served in Buffalo only six months, but Samuel H. Davis became one of the most influential ministers of the new church.[25]

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[21] *The Colored American*, March 29, 1838, reprinted from *Toronto U.C. [Upper Canada] Guardian*, n.d.

[22] *The Colored American*, March 29, 1838.

[23] "Baptist Church in Toronto, U.C.," *The Colored American,* April 3, 1841.

[24] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 2-3.

[25] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 2-3.

Before they began to build their own church, Second Baptist Society of Buffalo met in at least two different locations. Early histories of the Michigan Street Baptist Church suggest that the group met in the upstairs room of a small frame building, over Elbridge Farwell's undertaking business, on the corner of Niagara Street between Eagle and Pearl Streets. City directories from the early 1840s confirm this location. The 1836 incorporation records noted, however, that they were meeting in the brick schoolhouse on South Division Street. By 1844, they were meeting at "P.G. Cook's School room on Eagle Street" (perhaps in or near the frame building over the undertaker's business), "being the place where the said Church and Congregation have heretofore, for divine Worship on the Sabbath, statedly met."[26]

Uneven leadership under a succession of temporary ministers in the early 1840s took its toll. The original group "dissolved by means of non-user or neglect to exercise some of the powers necessary for its preservation." On January 30, 1844, at 7:00 p.m. on Tuesday evening, the congregation decided to reorganize. Male church members, infused by forty new members who transferred from the Washington Street Baptist Church, met at P.G. Cook's school room on Eagle Street with John Dandridge and Randal Cezar, a local barber, in charge of the meeting. They elected six new trustees: Peyton Harris, John Dandridge, William Qualls, Charles E. Smith, Carr Johnson, and Henry K. Thomas.[27]

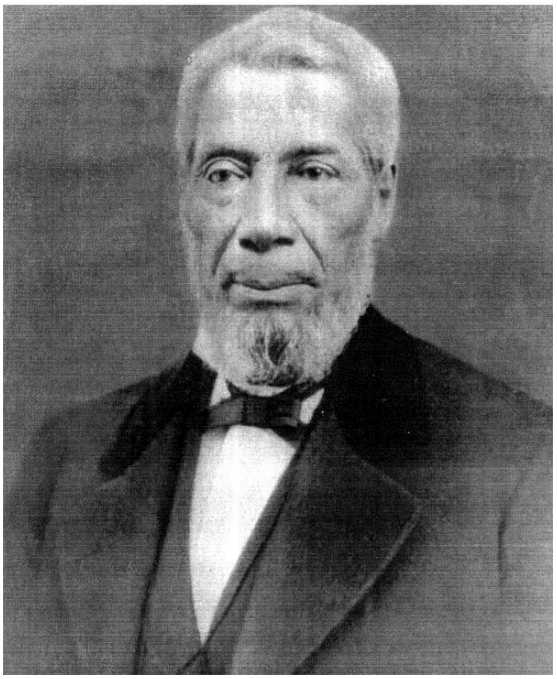

Figure 1.6: Rev. Samuel H. Davis. Photo from descendants Mr. William Richardson and Ms. Martha Susan Prescod /NYS OPRHP UGRR Heritage Trail signage at Michigan Street Baptist Church.

This reorganization formed the basis for building a brand new house of worship, the one that still stands today. Building a new church was made both possible and necessary by expansion of the congregation. Under Rev. Dutton and Rev. Sharp, the Michigan Street Baptist Church had recruited new members, growing from nineteen in 1840 to fifty-six in 1843. They needed their own building, and they proposed to build it in the fourth ward. This neighborhood, just east of downtown, was the center of African American settlement, but it also included many German immigrants. Deacons William Qualls and Peyton Harris found "a very fine piece of land on Michigan near Batavia [now Broadway]," noted Mary Talbert. The congregation directed the deacons to purchase lot 53 of the larger lot 117, facing Michigan Street.

After Samuel H. Davis arrived in 1844, work on the church began in earnest. Peyton Harris, believed to be the wealthiest man in the congregation, secured all the

[26] "The Colored Society of Buffalo," March 29, 1836, Miscellaneous Book 1, p. 283, Erie County Clerk's Office.

[27] "Organization of the Second Baptist Society of the City of Buffalo," January 31, 1844, Miscellaneous Book 2, p. 6, Erie County Clerk's Office; *Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo* (Buffalo, New York: Jewett Thomas & Co. 1850), 108, noted that Randall Cezar was a barber. No census records have been found for Randall Cezar, but Carr Johnson was listed in the 1840 census for Buffalo.

materials—lumber, brick, and stone. Samuel H. Davis, although trained as a cooper, evidently had skills as a mason, as well, and he did the masonry work.[28]

They laid the cornerstone on the first Sunday in June 1845. "Such enthusiasm, such rejoicing," reported Mary Talbert, "and with them rejoiced other ministers and the Rev. Levi Tucker of the Washington Street Church and the members of his congregation, and all the ministers of the association joined in laying the cornerstone." By February 1846, church members invited "all friendly to the cause" to celebrate the opening of the new church. To what extent the brick walls above the basement level had been completed remains unknown. In 1847, both Samuel H. Davis and David Miller were ordained in the basement of the new Michigan Street Baptist Church building.[29]

Rev. Sharp, noted Mary Talbert, began to collect money to support their new house of worship, "where this little flock might serve GOD according to the dictates of their conscience." Talbert implied that Rev. Sharp's fund-raising began during his pastorate in 1842. But two brief articles in the *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer,* suggest that he continued his work in 1846 and 1847. In December 1846, this magazine reported,

> The coloured Baptist church in the city of Buffalo, composed, as we learn, of very worthy people, have made very great sacrifices to commence the erection of a home of worship, but are stopped in the midst of their enterprise for want of funds. The building is of brick, and so far advanced as to be covered. Their own funds, and all that can be raised on the spot, are exhausted, and they have wisely determined to contract no debt. They are obliged, therefore, to look abroad for aid. And with the advice and commendation of baptist and other ministers in Buffalo, the pastor of the church, the Rev. John Sharp, is proceeding to England for that purpose. Mr. Sharp is himself an Englishman and is spoken of in terms of cordial respect and confidence.[30]

In 1848, the Michigan Street Baptist Church noted in their letter to the Buffalo Baptist Association that the congregation was doing all it could to build a house of worship. When Rev. Sharp returned from England without any money, "the women of the Church came to the front and united themselves into a Ladies Aid Society," noted Mary Talbert. And "from that time until the present," she added, "may I say that it has fallen to the lot of the women of this church to remain in the front in carrying on of the Gospel in this branch of the Master's vineyard." To help raise money for the new building, they purchased a small display case in 1848, still in the church in 1908, to show off their fine needlework. Sister Emeline Coy took charge of this work, and the women raised $260.00 through sales.[31]

Debating how they would raise money to finish the sanctuary itself, the congregation finally decided to rent pews for $10.00 a year. They delegated Deacon Harris once more to find lumber. Mary Talbert, most likely quoting Emeline Coy, related the deacon's consternation. "No doubt the question burned the deacon's mind and in his sleeping hours as well as his

[28] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 3.

[29] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 4; *Buffalo Morning Express*, February 28, 1846, quoted in "Macedonia Baptist Church," National Register nomination, 1974.

[30] *Baptist Reporter and Missionary Intelligencer* 20 (December 1846), 504, from *New York Recorder*, October 14, [1846].

[31] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 3-4.

waking ones," she noted. "The burden of the lumber was upon him. One Sabbath afternoon while the pastor had waxed eloquent in his sermon and had suddenly stopped to see who had annoyed his congregation by snoring in Church, Deacon Harris not yet fully aroused from his slumbers said in a loud voice, 'Throw the lumber on the other side.'" The congregation broke up, no doubt in laughter, while Deacon Harris hastily retreated to his home next door.[32]

They finally found a carpenter willing to work on the "installment plan." Ralph Dickers and William H. Leslie, both members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, were listed in census records and directories as, respectively, a carpenter/joiner and cabinet maker. The carpenter built "straight backed seats with doors attached, so that the proud possessor of a pew, who had paid the required $10.00, could walk proudly to his seat on a sabbath morning and open his door, and after his family had entered close the door without any danger of intruders."[33]

In 1849, members reported to the Buffalo Baptist Association that they had "completed and dedicated their House of Worship, which is estimated at $3,500. The whole property [perhaps referring to interior furnishings] of the church is estimated at $2,000."[34]

Building the church brought new members into the congregation. After remaining stable in the mid-1840s (at 56 in 1843 and 1845), the group expanded to 81 people (and a new Sabbath school) in 1848 and to 89 in 1849. By 1852, they numbered 94, the largest number they would reach in the nineteenth century.[35]

One of the most remarkable pastors of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, out of many remarkable ones, was Samuel Henry Davis. Mary Talbert noted that Davis served the Buffalo congregation in 1844 (with Rev. Sharpe) and again from 1846-49. Davis is credited with doing the masonry on the new building. Both he and pastor David Miller were ordained in the basement of the new church in 1847. William Richardson, one of Davis's descendants, published an account of Davis's life in *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. Davis was born Samuel Henry McCarty in Temple Mills, Maine, in 1810, of mixed European American, African American, and Native American ancestry. When he was about fourteen years old, his mother informed him that his father had been born enslaved in New York State, before New York abolished slavery in 1827. "When my mother told me I had African blood in my veins and that my father was born a slave! It is impossible to describe my feelings. In my heart I cursed the day I was born. And wished I was dead!" wrote Davis. For the rest of his life, Davis was committed to ending slavery.

In 1836-37, he attended the newly founded Oberlin College, a bi-racial abolitionist manual labor school in Ohio. In the late 1830s through 1850, he moved between Buffalo, Detroit, and Windsor, Ontario. In Buffalo, he served as teacher for the African school from 1842-44, when he opened his own English-Colored School before returning as teacher in the African school in 1845-46. While he was teaching, Davis served as president of the National Convention of Colored Citizens, held at the Vine Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Buffalo in 1843. Debates between Henry Highland Garnet and Frederick Douglass made national news at this

[32] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 5.

[33] Ibid.

[34] *Minutes of the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Hamburgh, on the Twelfth and Thirteenth Days of September, 1849* (Springville: Edwin Hough, 1849), 4, 10.

[35] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 3-5.

convention, but Samuel H. Davis gave the opening talk, emphasizing voting rights, education, and citizenship rights.[36]

The 1847-48 Buffalo city directory listed Rev. Sanders Lewis as pastor of the "colored Baptist church," although his name did not appear in reports of the Buffalo Baptist Association or in Emeline Coy's recollections. Rev. Miller left to work in missions in Haiti. Samuel H. Davis, noted Talbert, "contented himself by getting married and remaining for three or four years." Davis's work with Buffalo Baptists may have overlapped with his service to the Second Baptist congregation in Detroit from 1848-1851. For several years, he seems to have moved regularly between Buffalo, Detroit, and Dresden, Ontario. By September 1849, Rev. Davis resigned to work in the Second Baptist Church in Detroit and then as teacher in the Dawn settlement, organized with Baptist support as the British American Institute, a haven for people who had escaped from slavery, near Dresden, Ontario. William Richardson noted that Davis married in Burford, Ontario, in December 1849, just about the time he resigned his Buffalo pastorate, and that he brought his new wife to live in Detroit, where city directories reported him in 1850 and in 1855-56. He returned to Buffalo at least once in this period, however, when he preached as a "Detroit elder," at the funeral of Alla Harris on October 17, 1854. In 1855, he served as Clerk of the Fifth Anniversary meeting of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association. By 1857, he had moved to Burford, where his third child was born and where his wife and father-in-law owned 150 acres of land.[37]

Samuel Davis spent the rest of his life in Ontario, Canada, near Burford and Dresden. In 1858, he helped found and build the First Regular Baptist Church, Dresden. He served as its pastor for seventeen years, with another six years in Sandwich and one year in Chatham. All in all, he served the Amherstburg Baptist Association for sixty years. He died October 1, 1907, when he was ninety years old.[38]

After Samuel Davis left Buffalo, the Michigan Street Baptist Church had a brand new building and its largest congregation ever, but they had no pastor. In 1849, the Buffalo Baptist Association noted, "They are destitute of a Pastor, still their numbers are constantly increasing." In the absence of a full-time minister, Sabbath services were often conducted by pastors supplied by the Buffalo Baptist Association, while the minister of the Washington Street Baptist Church served communion in the afternoon. "Through all of her ordeals," noted Talbert, "every Sabbath this church was open for divine worship."[39]

Perhaps contributing to the church lack of leadership continuity in the early 1850s, some of the members migrated to California as part of the Gold Rush. One example is Philip Peck, who returned to Buffalo and the Michigan Street Baptist Church in the 1880s after having spent several years in California. Also Abner Francis, Buffalo merchant and one of the first trustees of Second Baptist, migrated to the west coast with his wife Sydna E.R.A.M. Francis in 1851. By 1860, William Qualls and Adelaide Harris Qualls were living in California next to Abner H. Francis and Sydna Francis. Adelaide's sister and brother-in-law, Anna Harris Talbert and

[36] William J. Richardson, "The life and times of Samuel H. Davis: an anti slavery activist," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 33.1 (Jan. 2009).

[37] http://www.buffaloah.com/how/15/15.1/mich.html; Carol E. Mull, *The Underground Railroad in Michigan* (McFarland Pub., 2010); Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," 13; William J. Richardson, "The Life and Times of Samuel H. Davis, Antislavery Activist," *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life* (January 2009); *Provincial Freeman* December 1, 1855; Talbert, 3-4.

[38] Richardson, "The Life and Times of Samuel H. Davis, Antislavery Activist," *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life* (January 2009).

[39] Buffalo Baptist Association, 1849; Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 6.

Robert Talbert, evidently went to California, as their son William was born there in January 1865.[40]

By the mid-1850s, Buffalo gained a reputation as a place of relative safety for both Underground Railroad activists and those who had escaped from slavery. In 1855, that reputation brought to Buffalo one of her most eloquent preachers. Rev. Duke William Anderson had been deeply involved in Underground Railroad activities in Illinois. Fearing for his life in Illinois, he came to Buffalo because he had been advised that it was a safer place and an "anti-slavery stronghold."

Rev. Anderson served for three years in Buffalo, from 1855 to 1858. Like many of the pastors at the Michigan Street Baptist Church, he was a remarkable man. "There is little doubt," wrote one contemporary, "but what Duke W. Anderson was the ablest, most distinguished clergyman of color in the United States." He certainly impressed his Buffalo congregation. Born free to an African American mother and a European American father who had been killed in Indian warfare during the War of 1812, Rev. Anderson "created a new spirit in the church," noted Mary Talbert. Some of this "new spirit" may have been due to Rev. Anderson's "invectives against slavery," which he freely promoted. While in Buffalo, he continued his outspoken opposition to slavery and his work for African American rights. He served on the committee organized on March 5, 1857, condemning fugitive slave William Cooper for betraying his wife back into slavery.[41]

Part of Rev. Anderson's "new spirit" may also have related to his ability to bring new people into the church. One of these new people was J. Sella Martin, born enslaved in Georgia, who came to Buffalo from Detroit in 1858 and was ordained in the "upper room" of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. The Sunday after his ordination, the new Rev. Martin and Rev. Anderson baptized thirty-two people in the cold waters of Lake Erie, at the foot of Erie Street. Three of the thirty-two—Frankie Martin, of Washington, D.C., and Katie and Sophia Brown from St. Catharines, Ontario--remained alive in 1908, when Mary Talbert included them in her history of the church.[42]

Rev. Anderson and his new parishioners evidently felt themselves financially stable enough to make a major upgrade to lighting in the church. About 1856, according to Rev. J. Edward Nash's statement in 1936 (that he noted were based on "old records"), the church installed new gaslights. The original chandelier was still in the vestibule in 1936.[43]

After his service in Buffalo, Rev. Anderson eventually moved to the Nineteenth Street Church in Washington, D.C. There he became a trustee of Howard University and also of the Freedman's Saving & Trust. After his death in 1873, his biographer described him as a man whose "beautiful life was studded with the noblest virtues. From obscurity and poverty Duke

[40] Talbert, 8, mentioned that Philip Peck, "had been a member years before, returned from California and church clerk, Sunday School Superintendent, and also minister, occupied the pulpit for nearly two years." William Talbert's birth in January 1865 in California listed in 1900 U.S. Census.

[41] George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens,* Vol. 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1883), http://www.freefictionbooks.org/books/h/18750-history-of-the-negro-race-in-america-from-1619-to?start=359.

[42] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 6; "Statistics of the Recent Revival: The Christian Advocate," *Buffalo Courier*, July 23, 1858, confirms this figure, listing 30 new members of the "colored baptist church."

[43] "Old Church Once Station on Underground Railway," *Buffalo Courier-Express*, December 27, 1936, clipping in file of the Buffalo History Museum.

William Anderson had risen to fame and honors; and having spent a useful life, died in the midst of a great revival in the capital of the nation, holding more positions of trust than any other man, white or black; died with harness on, and left a name whose lustre will survive the corroding touch of time."[44]

Anderson's successor, Rev. J. Sella Martin, had only recently escaped from slavery. Two years before he came to Buffalo, noted the *Buffalo Express,* he "was sold on the auction block as a slave in Georgia." He had been born in Charlotte, North Carolina, on September 27, 1832, and sold in Columbus, Georgia, when he was only six years old. His new owner was a bachelor who gradually became blind. In his blindness, he trained Martin to read to him, and he promised Martin his freedom after his death. Executors of his estate decided differently. They sold him to an owner in Mobile, Alabama, about 1852, when Martin was eighteen years old. Martin escaped in 1856 and went to Michigan. Renowned throughout the Midwest as an antislavery lecturer, Martin became converted to Christianity in Detroit and then moved on to Buffalo about 1858. "In the course of his examination [for ordination]," the *Express* continued, Mr. Martin "bore himself with remarkable ability. . . . It was remarked that but few graduates of our theological schools were better educated in the nature of their duties, than this poor slave."[45]

Figure 1.7: J. Sella Martin, (1832-1876). From Portraits of American Abolitionists, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. Image #81.449.

In 1859, probably during the ministry of J. Sella Martin, the "committee on resolutions," perhaps of the Buffalo Baptist Association, "again attacked the institution of American Slavery," noted Mary Talbert. They "deemed it as a system of oppression in its character and influence, evil [upon?] evil, and that continually, and we earnestly entreat our brethren to use all laudable means and measures for its removal."[46]

J. Sella Martin stayed only one year in Buffalo before he moved on to the Joy Street Baptist Church in Boston, often called the "abolition church." In 1861, Rev. Martin went to Great Britain, returning to Boston in 1862 with $2500, which he used to purchase his sister and her two children, still enslaved in Georgia. After another sojourn in London, he became pastor of

[44] George W. Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880: Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers, and as Citizens,* Vol. 2 (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1883), http://www.freefictionbooks.org/books/h/18750-history-of-the-negro-race-in-america-from-1619-to?start=359.

[45] Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life Baptist Street Church* 21:1 (January 1997), 6; *Buffalo Express* article, as reprinted in *Syracuse Daily Journal,* April 24, 1858. http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/u/docsouth?hl=en&q=cache:JNTtexTYlOUJ:http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/brownw/brown.xml+%22j.+sella+martin%22&ct=clnk. William Wells Brown, *The Black Man: His Antecedents, His Genius, and His Achievements* (1863), 241-245; Philip Sheldon Foner, Robert J. Branham, *Lift every voice: African American oratory, 1787-1900* (University of Alabama Press, 1997), 452; "Death of J. Sella Martin, *New York Times*, August 17, 1876.

[46] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 7.

the Shiloh Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn. In 1864 he returned to England as an agent of the American Missionary Association, raising thousands of dollars to support people newly freed from slavery. He served as a pastor in Washington, D.C. and worked with the Colored National Labor Union and the National Colored Convention. In the later years of his life, he moved from place to place, with erratic employment and severe health problems. He died in New Orleans in 1876, most likely from a self-administered overdose of laudanum, which he had been taking as medicine. His decline and death were a major loss to the country of a brilliant orator, organizer, and preacher.[47]

For the Michigan Street Baptist Church, the 1860s were a period of rapid turnover of ministers. Frequently, the pastor of the Washington Street Baptist Church would appoint various local preachers to serve the church, "each Sunday finding a new speaker, as the messenger happened along." Brother Rantz of the German Baptist Church, Brother Malori of the Washington Street Baptist Church, and Brother Francis from the Cedar Street Baptist Church often officiated. During the same period, the Michigan Street Baptist Church hired a series of African American preachers, including Rev. F.J. Boag, Rev. Jones, Rev. Warring, and Rev. Calluis. The church had "so many speakers, ministers, preachers, pastors and divines," noted Mary Talbert, that "it was frequently said that any minister who needed experience must first come and pass a probationary state, and if successful in pleasing this august body, he was amply qualified to proceed further." Confronted with such a rapid turnover of ministers, two laymen, Mr. Lapins and Mr. Steniker, brought continuity to both church and Sunday School, laboring for years as volunteers.[48]

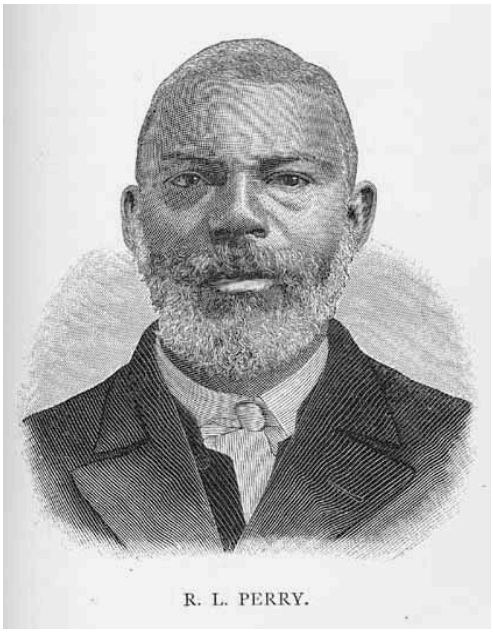

Figure 1.8: Portrait of Rufus Perry. William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive, and Rising* (Cleveland, Ohio: George M. Rewell, 1887), p.620.

In the 1860s, the only preacher who stayed as long as a year was Rev. Rufus Perry, who served the Buffalo congregation in 1861. Born in slavery in Smith County, Tennessee, to Lewis and Marie Perry, both Baptists enslaved by Archibald Overton, Rufus Perry spent his early childhood in Nashville, where his father worked as a skilled carpenter and where Rufus went to school. His father escaped to Canada when Rufus was seven years old. Rufus was sent back to the plantation and consigned for sale in Mississippi, but in 1852 before he could be sold he escaped to join his father in Canada.[49]

[47] Mamie E. Locke, "Martin, John Sella," *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African-American Experience*, Kwame Anthony/Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[48] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum," 6-7.

[49] *New York Age,* July 4, 1892; Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, c. 1921), 242-243, docsouth.unc.edu/church/woodson/ill243.html; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive, and Rising* (Cleveland, Ohio: George M. Rewell, 1887), 620, docsouth.unc.edu/neh/simmons/ill42.html. A.W. Pegues, *Our Baptist Ministers and Schools* (Willey and Company, 1892), 375-80, repeated material that originally appeared in Simmons, *Men of Mark.*

Rufus Perry graduated from Baptist seminary in Kalamazoo Michigan, in 1861, and served churches in Ann Arbor, Michigan; St. Catherine's Ontario; and Buffalo, New York, before he went to Washington, D.C., to supervise the freedman's school kept by the African Civilization Society. In 1868, he moved to Weeksville, a black community in eastern Brooklyn, New York, in 1868, where he edited several newspapers, including the *Sunbeam*, the *People's Journal,* and the *National Monitor*. The *Monitor* dealt with racial issues and was, noted Perry's biographer, "a spicy paper." Perry also served as coeditor of the *American Baptist*, which served primarily white Baptist congregations, and as secretary of the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary convention, which counted a membership of more than a million African American Baptists. In 1891, he was elected president of the New England Baptist Missionary Convention.[50]

Rev. Perry was also noted for his "powerful intellect." In 1887, he published *The Cushite; or, The Children of Ham (the Negro Race) as Seen by The Ancient Historians and Poets*. In it, he argued that there were "three great and distinctly marked streams of people," "a white Europe, a black Africa, and a yellow Asia." "No race," he suggested, "can boast of a higher celebrity in ancient times than the Negro, then called Cushites.[51] After Rev. Perry died in 1895, the *New York Age* eulogized him as "a man of large powers and great influence," "one of the scholars of his denomination as well as one of its ablest men."

Such a rapid turnover of ministers in the 1860s, perhaps due to changes in the position of African Americans in Buffalo because of the Civil War, led to a persistent decline in membership of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. In 1861, they counted forty-one members; in 1862, only twenty-nine; in 1867 only thirty-six. On March 7, 1867, this small group published an appeal to the "Christian public" to help them repair their church. "This Society appeals to the Christian public of Buffalo," they wrote, "for assistance to aid them in placing their house of worship in comfortable repair, it is at present in a very dilapidated condition."[52] This was surprising information for a building that was only about 20 years old.

By 1870, the church counted only twenty-four members. This was ironic, since Congress confirmed the Fifteenth Amendment that same year, recognizing a goal that African Americans in Buffalo and across the nation had worked for years to accomplish, the right to vote for African American males. Celebrations across the country reflected hope for the future of African Americans as full citizens of the U.S. In Buffalo, African Americans celebrated passage of the Fifteenth Amendment at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. This joyous occasion was a culmination of the church's own history, reflecting the lifelong commitment of its members to African American rights and the Underground Railroad.[53]

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[50] On November 7, 1871, the *Brooklyn Eagle* referred to "the *National Monitor* (of Weeksville)." William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive, and Rising* (Cleveland, Ohio: George M. Rewell, 1887), 620, docsouth.unc.edu/neh/simmons/ill42.html; "The Colored People," *Eagle,* November 28, 1886.

[51] "Rufus L. Perry, D.D., Ph.D.," *New York Age,* July 4, 1891; William J. Simmons, *Men of Mark: Eminent, Progressive, and Rising* (Cleveland, Ohio: George M. Rewell, 1887), 620, docsouth.unc.edu/neh/simmons/ill42.html; "The Colored People," *Eagle,* November 28, 1886. *The Cushite; or, The Children of Ham (the Negro Race) as Seen by The Ancient Historians and Poets* (New York City: African Islamic Publications, 1988, 1887); *The Cushite, or, The Descendants of Ham: As found in the Sacred Scriptures and in the Writings of Ancient Historians and Poets from Noah to the Christian Era* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Willey & Co., 1893); Rufus L. Perry, "The Scriptures," Edward M. Brawley, ed., *The Negro Baptist Pulpit: A Collection of Sermons and Papers on Baptist Doctrine and Missionary and Educational Work*, by Colored Baptist Ministers (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1890), 28-38.

[52] *Buffalo Courier*, March 7, 1867.

[53] Talbert, 7.

2. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, Abolitionism, & the Underground Railroad

For decades, people have valued the Michigan Street Baptist Church as one of Buffalo's most important Underground Railroad sites. In the last decade, however, two developments have made it possible to historicize the relationship between the Michigan Street Baptist Church and the Underground Railroad. They allow us to substantiate our intuitive understanding with specific information. First, many sources (although not all) relating to the Underground Railroad are now much more accessible than ever before, because they are searchable on the internet. Second, our understanding and interpretation of the Underground Railroad has matured. Many people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed the Underground Railroad as a series of safe houses kept mostly by European Americans. We now focus—as people involved originally with the Underground Railroad certainly did—not on safe houses alone but on people, especially on the complex and varied experience of people who escaped from slavery.

Based on these new insights, we now understand that the Underground Railroad changed over time, based in part on changes in the law (especially passage of New York State's personal liberty law of 1841 and of the federal Fugitive Slave Act in 1850) and transportation (especially the development of steamboats beginning in the 1820s and the consolidation of steam railroads across the Northeast and Canada in the 1850s).

We also recognize that the Underground Railroad involved all kinds of people--African Americans as well as European Americans (and sometimes Native Americans), women as well as men, young people as well as older ones, poor as well as rich. Different people played different roles, reflecting the complex requirements of the Underground Railroad network. Some people (both European American and African American) kept safe houses. Others helped with transportation (including sympathizers who worked with stage lines, railroads, steamboats, and ferry crossings). Others provided homes, found work, and developed community organizations (especially churches and schools) for those who chose to stay on the U.S. side of the border. Many people offered food to eat, clothes to wear, money, legal aid, names of friends, and physical resistance.

As part of this broader understanding of the Underground Railroad, we know that northern African American communities became magnets for fugitives. They provided places of temporary refuge for people who crossed to Canada but they also provided long-term havens for the thousands of people who settled on the U.S. side of the border. A city such as Buffalo, straddling the porous U.S.-Canadian border, was an especially attractive place for settlement. It offered people who had escaped from slavery a supportive environment with a quick exit, should they need it, into Canada.

Buffalo became a major national node of the Underground Railroad (starting with Seneca Indians, who offered haven to an African American who may well have been Buffalo's first post-Haudenosaunee settler); that Buffalo also became major site for organizing on behalf of abolitionism and African American rights, promoted both by European Americans and African Americans; and that members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church were consistently and very publicly involved in both the Underground Railroad and organizations for African American equal rights.

Of the thirty-one specific references found to date of Underground Railroad incidents in Buffalo (including two public meetings to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act), only one account (recorded by George Washington Johnson in 1847) mentioned names of people specifically associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church. A second account in 1860 referred to a "Rev. Mr. P.---" a Baptist minister in Buffalo. This may have been Rev. Rufus Perry. Other

events, because of the large numbers of participants, almost certainly involved people who were affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Almost ninety percent (89 percent) of known affiliates of the Michigan Street Baptist Church whose birthplaces we could identify had been born in a slave state themselves and had definitely or almost certainly escaped from slavery. Many also helped others escape.[54]

a. Historical Background

The Michigan Street Baptist Church is one of those places that "everyone knows" was an Underground Railroad site. This association did not appear in print, however, until the 19-teens. Frank Severance in *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier*, published in 1899 (with a second edition in 1903), made no mention of the Underground Railroad and the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Nor did Wilbur Siebert, in his *Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (1898) or Mary Talbert, in her 1908 history of the church.[55]

In the early twentieth century, academics (except for Wilbur H. Siebert) virtually abandoned the study of the Underground Railroad, and many of those who participated in it had died. Throughout the country, citizens kept the stories alive, however, primarily by using local landmarks to remind them. By the 1930s, stories began to appear in print about Underground Railroad hiding places and tunnels. In the popular imagination, these hiding places and tunnels became the hallmarks of a genuine Underground Railroad site.

It was in this context that stories relating the Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Underground Railroad began to appear in print. In 1915, author John Horton noted that "here [in Buffalo] they contrived special hideouts, sometimes in places deceptively conspicuous like the Morris Butler house at the corner of Utica and Linwood; sometimes it may be in premises rather more suspect like the Negro Baptist Church in Michigan Street."[56]

By the 1930s, this reputation was regularly reinforced. In 1931, Clement Good, a staff writer for the *Buffalo Times* identified the church as "one of the principal stations of the 'underground railway.'" Rev. Nash added his own comment: "We today are fortunate that Buffalo operated such a station," he noted. "The Negro who had the nerve to risk his life in order to become his own master, was the higher type of Negro. He had 'get up' and 'go.' And many men and women of this type returned from Canada after the emancipation proclamation and settled down in the Niagara frontier." They became leaders of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, noted Rev. Nash, and they kept it going through sheer "grit" during times of hardship.[57]

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[54] Louisa Picquet, *Louisa Picquet, the Octoroon, or, Inside Views of Southern Domestic Life* (New York: The Author, 1861), 6, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/picquet/menu.html; Elwin H. Powell, *News from the Aceldama: Black and While Relations as Revealed by the Journal of George Washington Jonson: (1832-68),* (Buffalo: s.n., 1976), 12; Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History.* 36.1 (Jan. 2012), 95-6.

[55] Frank Severance, *Old Trails of the Niagara Frontier* (1899); Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 414, listed the names of six Underground Railroad agents in Erie County: "Aldrich, Gideon Barker, Hon Wm. Haywood, Geo. W. Johnson [Jonson], Dea. Henry Moore, and Williams," http://deila.dickinson.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=%2Fownwords&CISOPTR=45633&REC=0&CISOBOX=buffalo; Talbert (1908).

[56] John Theodore Horton, *History of Northwestern New York, Erie, Niagara, etc."* (Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 141.

[57] Clement Good, "Michigan Avenue Baptist Church Was 'Underground Railway' Station," *Buffalo Times*, June 30, 1931.

Michigan Avenue Baptist Church Was "Underground Railway" Station

Edifice Which Once Sheltered Runaways Offers Colored People Spiritual Comfort

By CLEMENT GOOD
Times Staff Writer

Within the walls where their forebears found shelter after a run for liberty from angered masters, 500 colored people today find spiritual shelter from the cares and sorrows of a busy world.

The Michigan Avenue Baptist church still retains in a measure the grim determination stamped upon it by those early visitors who risked everything for freedom. In pre-Civil war days the church was one of the principal stations of the famous "underground railway" over which escaped slaves were smuggled into Canada.

Settled on Frontier

"In a way, we today are fortunate that Buffalo operated such a station," the Rev. J. Edward Nash, pastor of the Michigan Avenue church, believes. "The Negro who had the nerve to risk his life in order to become his own master, was the higher type of Negro. He had 'get up' and 'go.' And many men and women of this type returned from Canada after the emancipation proclamation and settled down in the Niagara frontier."

These people were the leaders in the Michigan church, and their grit was all that kept it going during times of hardship and stress, Mr. Nash avers.

The Michigan Avenue church was built in 1845. Its legal title is "The Second Baptist Church," for it was an outgrowth of the First Baptist church, then in Washington street, opposite the Ellicott Square building.

Membership Fluctuated

"Although our people were perfectly welcome in the First Baptist church they must have felt a little ill at ease in a congregation dominated by white folk," Mr. Nash explains. "For that reason, a group of about 35 men and women, most of whom had immigrated from the South, decided in 1839 to form the first church in Buffalo organized by colored people.

"The congregation grew and prospered until the gold rush of 1849. California then claimed most of our substantial members."

"Membership fluctuated from that time until 1886 when the tide reached low ebb, and only about 13 or 14 persons were enrolled. The Buffalo Baptist Union, newly founded, recognized the condition and need of the church and received it into membership.

Pastor Appointed, 1872

"Through the union, necessary repairs to the building were made, and the Rev. Holland Powell, graduate of what is now Virginia university, was obtained as pastor. In his four years of service he gave the organization a new breath of life."

His successor, the Rev. R. C. Quailes, carried on, submitting the rudder to Mr. Nash in 1892. The latter has been at the helm ever since.

Mr. Nash is a graduate of Wayland seminary and college, Washington, D. C., since become a part of Virginia Union university, Richmond, Va. He came to Buffalo immediately after his graduation and has had no other charge. The church had 30 members when he arrived, and the organist and Sunday school superintendent were members of the First Baptist church who came to help.

Held Many Offices

In June next year he will celebrate his 40th anniversary. Of all his accomplishments he is proudest of the close contact which he has kept with "the great Baptist family."

He has endeavored to keep the church up to the standards of the Northern Baptist convention and has, himself, served actively as clerk of the Buffalo Baptist association for 29 years. For 30 years he was secretary of the Buffalo Baptist ministers' Monday meeting and is now secretary of the Baptist-Disciple ministers' Monday, conference, an outgrowth of the other body.

Charles Brown, a member of Michigan church, is treasurer of the Buffalo Baptist Young People's association.

Sunday Schedule

Officers of Michigan Avenue Baptist church are: Edward Howard, chairman of the board of trustees; William Martin, chairman of the board of deacons; Mrs. P. A. Howard, treasurer; Mrs. Pearl Pryor, Sunday school superintendent; and Benjamin Dover, president of the Young People's society.

The church Sunday schedule includes: Sunday school at 9:30; worship at 11 p. m.; Christian Culture congress, 4:30 p. m.; Baptist Young People's union, 6 p. m.; and evening worship, 8 p. m.

The Michigan Avenue Baptist church, 511 Michigan avenue, first church in Buffalo formed by a colored congregation, was once a station in the "underground railway." Below is Artist Albert Getchell's conception of an escaped slave woman and her child, aided by a white sympathizer, trying to make her way to Canada and freedom.

TIMES-June 30, 1931

Figure 1.9: Buffalo Times, June 30, 1931 article by Clement Good.

On December 27, 1936, the *Buffalo Courier Express* noted, "the red brick edifice is declared by local historians to be the only remaining station of the old Underground Railroad left in the vicinity of Buffalo. . . . [It] is Buffalo's last tangible link with the times when the question of whether runaway slaves should be arrested or aided was a stirring national question." Enslaved people "slept on the hard benches which still stand in the basement," and "there are dozens of Negro families in Toronto and other nearby Canadian cities who have a great affection for the Buffalo church, for in it their grandfathers and grandmothers rested before their final dash for freedom in Canada."[58]

In 1939, when the church celebrated its centenary, the *Buffalo Courier* reported, "the church maintained an underground railroad station and helped many slaves escape to Canada." [59]

Porter W. Phillips, Jr., last pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church from 1953-62, picked up this theme in 1961. "Many slaves were hidden in the basement, given a change of clothing and ferried to Canada in the dead of night."[60]

In 1974, the National Register nomination for the Michigan Street Baptist Church was more cautious. "Claims that the church was the final stop for fugitive slaves en route to Canada during the Civil War are possible and yet undocumented," it noted. In 1997, historian Monroe Fordham aptly summarized the issue: "Although providing assistance to fugitive slaves was a violation of federal law," he wrote, "it was widely held that the Michigan Street Baptist Church was a station on the 'underground railroad.' "[61] No one, however, has yet found any primary source, recorded by people who were actually involved in the Underground Railroad, either as people who escaped from slavery, helpers, or direct observers, documenting use of the Michigan Street Baptist Church to hide people escaping from slavery. In 2000, Buffalo University Archivist Christopher Densmore used the internet to publish results of his research in local newspapers on the Underground Railroad. In 2003, historian Jean Richardson looked at Buffalo's reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. And in 2012, historian Cynthia Van Ness published a collection of primary source accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo. None of these sources mentioned the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Nor have we discovered any specific link between the Michigan Street Baptist Church, as a building, and the Underground Railroad in research for this essay.[62]

Lack of written evidence, of course, does not mean lack of activity. It is possible that people did find refuge in the Michigan Street Baptist Church, and no one ever recorded their presence. The closest written clue that we have found in this study is the presence

[58] *Buffalo Courier-Express*, December 27, 1936.

[59] "Centenary of Church Is to Be Celebrated," *Buffalo Courier*, June 24, 1939, in vertical file of Grosvenor Local History Room, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

[60] Henry Locke, "History of Black Buffalo," *Courier Express*, n.d., vertical file in Grosvenor Local History Room, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

[61] "Churches in Buffalo, 1961," May 21, 1961, vertical file on Michigan Street Baptist Church in the Buffalo History Museum; Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 21:1 (January 1997).

[62] Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/; Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:2 (July 2003); Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 36:1 (January 2012). For a well-researched list of known safe houses in Buffalo, see Cynthia Van Ness, "Underground Railroad Sites in Buffalo, N.Y.," BuffaloResearch.com, www.buffaloresearch.com/ugrr.html#Buffalo.

of one James Walker, who was listed in the 1860 city directory for Buffalo as living "under Michigan St. Baptist church." The U.S. census for 1860 listed Jonas Walker, a peddler, born in Virginia in 1778, living with his wife Maria, who was born in Virginia in 1790. Did James/Jonas and Maria Walker escape from slavery in Virginia to live and work in Buffalo in 1860? Were they renting living space from the Michigan Street Baptist Church? Or did they perhaps exchange their labor as caretakers in lieu of rent? They certainly were not hiding, since the city directory listed their place of residence for all to see.

Figure 1.10: Wood Hatch in Attic. Photograph 2013, by Andrea Rebeck.

Figure 1.11: Wood stick wedged in place above Attic Hatch. Photograph 2013, by Andrea Rebeck.

In contrast to written documentation, one piece of physical evidence does hint at the possibility that people used the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a hiding place. About 2000, electrician Joseph Violanti was working in the church attic, accessible by a small hatch in the ceiling above the Gallery. When he decided to put the wood attic hatch cover back down from above to protect the opening in the floor, he noticed a large stick (about 3"- 4" diameter by approximately 60" long) leaning against the attic wall. When he placed the stick on the top side of the hatch, it fit braced between the top of the hatch and bottom side of the roof above the hatch cover. Mr. Violanti thought that this may have been so the attic hatch could be secured in place from the Attic and not allow it to be opened from the Gallery below.[63] Researchers may yet find evidence to explain these physical features. Also found in the attic is a natural fiber woven runner/carpet, often interchangeably called jute or sisal, and was most likely part of a carpet or runner once used on the exterior porch, steps, or perhaps in the Gallery.

It was rare for any written primary source to mention specific places of refuge on the Underground Railroad. Of the sources that refer to people who escaped from slavery through Buffalo, only three mention places where fugitives en route to Canada stayed. The first was the home of William Wells Brown at 13 Pine Street. As Brown's daughter, Josephine, recalled, "Buffalo being a place through which many fugitives passed while on their way to Canada, Mr. Brown spent much time in assisting those who sought his aid. His house might literally have been called the "fugitive's house." It was also a center of temperance and anti-slavery organizing. Cynthia Van Ness identified this location as

[63] Joseph Violanti, conversations on March 27, 2013; April 11, 2013; and March 28, 2013.

the east side of Pine Street at the corner of Booth Alley, in an area whose buildings were demolished by urban renewal. [64]

In 1847, George Washington Jonson described a second place where people stayed when they traveled through Buffalo on the Underground Railroad. William Quarles [Qualls] and John Dandridge found a place to stay for the Brown family, "quartered among the colored people." Almost certainly, the Brown family stayed with people affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church, since both Qualls and Dandridge were trustees.[65]

The third mention of a resting place, also noted by Cynthia Van Ness, was the home of George Weir, Jr., at the corner of Pine Street and North Division. Weir was the son of the pastor of the Vine Street Methodist Episcopal church. In 1854, he took a party of eight fugitives from his home to a "public house kept by one of our people." We have no indication about which public house that might have been, although it may well have been the one at 381 Michigan Street, kept by Virginia-born Emeline and Sarah Coy, members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, who had most likely escaped from slavery themselves.[66]

Rather than focus solely on the possibility that the Michigan Street Baptist Church building was a hiding place for people escaping from slavery, we can broaden our search. We can focus on the lives of those people affiliated with the Church who were also involved—both as people who escaped from slavery or as helpers--in the Underground Railroad.

Looking at the whole experience of people who escaped from slavery reflects both nineteenth century views of the movement and more recent historical assessments. Nineteenth century primary accounts of the Underground Railroad looked at the full experience of those who escaped. By the late twentieth century, historians also began to adopt that broader view. In 1961, historian Larry Gara urged historians to refocus their lens from those who kept safe houses to those who escaped from slavery. Beginning in 1998, the National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom endorsed this perspective, defining the UGRR as "the effort of enslaved African Americans to gain their freedom by escaping bondage."[67]

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[64] Primary sources refer only rarely to hiding places anywhere on the Underground Railroad. When they do, they mention barns, bedrooms, attics, or—in the case of a man who stayed with Martha and David Wright in Auburn--the settee behind the kitchen stove. Natural features on the landscape—woods or marshes, for example-- also appear in these accounts. Frank Severance made a rare reference to the use of a church as a place of refuge in *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (Buffalo: Matthews-Northrup Co., 1899), 256, when he described a Methodist Church in Wesleyville, near Erie, Pennsylvania, www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm Josephine Brown, *Biography of an American Bondman* (Boston: R.F. Wallcutt, 1856), 52, quoted in Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 36:1 (January 2012).

[65] George W. Jonson, Journal, July 24, 1847, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, *News from the Aceldama: Black and While Relations as Revealed by the Journal of George Washington Jonson: (1832-68),* (Buffalo: s.n., 1976), 12, and Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History.* 36.1 (Jan. 2012), 95-6.

[66] George Weir, Jr., "Still They Come: Underground Railroad in Active Operation." *Frederick Douglass Paper*, January 4, I855, quoted in Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 36:1 (January 2012). The 1861 Buffalo city directory listed "Emeline Coy, boardinghouse, 381 Michigan" with her sister Sarah living at the same address.

[67] Larry Gara, *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1961, repr. 1996); Network to Freedom, "Discover History," www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/discover_history/index.htm.

Keeping our focus on the experience of people who escaped from slavery, we can translate stories of both freedom seekers and their helpers onto the landscape, identifying a wide variety of places related to the Underground Railroad. We can search for places from which people escaped, routes they used, boats or stagecoaches that transported them, sites related to people who helped them (whether with food, shelter, transportation, money, clothes, or homes and jobs), and sites relating to areas in which freedom seekers settled (primarily homes, job sites, and churches).

In 2000, Christopher Densmore, then Archivist at Buffalo University and a major scholar of the Underground Railroad, related this broader perspective to the Michigan Street Baptist Church. He noted,

> the Michigan St. Church example begs the question of what to include as an Underground Railroad site. Since it does appear that many (probably most) fugitive slaves in Buffalo were being aided by the local African-American community, and since the Michigan Street Church was full of known abolitionists, I don't think any discussion of Underground Railroad sites in Buffalo could exclude the Michigan Street Church whether or not ANY fugitive slave was ever actually hidden in that building.[68]

Research for this essay has reaffirmed this insight, reinforced by another dominant feature of the Underground Railroad. Unlike popular perceptions, which suggest that fugitives went directly to Canada, both nineteenth century sources and more recent research suggest that thousands of people who escaped from slavery did not go to Canada. Instead, they settled on the U.S. side of the border. Samuel J. May, Unitarian minister and UGRR operator in Syracuse, N.Y., noted, "hundreds ventured to remain this side of the lakes." Other estimates ranged much higher. Theodore Parker, Boston clergyman, estimated in 1850 that there were four to six hundred fugitives in Boston alone. Abolitionist Henry Wilson thought that twenty thousand escapees had found homes in northern states by 1850. Franklin Sanborn estimated from 25,000 to 50,000. Josiah Henson, who had escaped from slavery in Kentucky, taking the ferry at Black Rock to settle in Canada, estimated that 50,000 of his fellows had settled on the U.S. side of the border.[69]

Instead of looking only for specific references relating to the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a place of refuge, we will expand our lens to include people affiliated with the church. Here we see an abundance of evidence to show that members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church were intimately involved in the Underground Railroad over a long period of time. We have identified fifty-eight people associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church (including pastors, clerks, deacons, trustees, speakers, and members) before 1870. Many of these participated in—and often led—major abolitionist meetings of African Americans in Buffalo before the Civil War. In addition, many people associated with the Church—including at least two ministers and twenty-five of the twenty-eight people whose birthplaces we could identify (89 percent)--had either definitely or most likely escaped from slavery themselves.

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[68] Christopher Densmore, "Researching the UGRR in Buffalo," Buffalo History, http://groups.yahoo.com/group/BuffaloHistory/message/133, October 24, 2000.

[69] Samuel Joseph May, *Some Recollections of Our Anti-slavery Conflict*, 296-305; Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 235, 237.

Far from hiding in Buffalo, fugitives from slavery became some of the strongest and most public supporters of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, of abolitionist activities in Buffalo, and presumably of the Underground Railroad. The Michigan Street Baptist Church and people associated with it offered a haven—not simply for a night but often for a lifetime--to dozens and perhaps hundreds of people who had escaped from slavery. They found safety not in secrecy and silence but in very public assertions—consistent, clear, and loud--of their own rights as African American citizens of the United States.

b. The Underground Railroad & Abolitionism in Buffalo, 1784-1830

People affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church worked in the larger context of Underground Railroad activities in Buffalo. Based on its geographic location, Buffalo earned a reputation as one of the largest Underground Railroad nodes in the U.S. At the height of the Underground Railroad in the 1850s, both travelers and helpers relied on a national network of various kinds of transportation—pathways, roads, and railroads on land and canals, rivers, and lakes on the water. These intersected at key nodes. Small nodes might be located at a crossroads. Several different pathways that intersected in one place created larger nodes, such as Buffalo. By the 1850s, canal and railroad lines connected in Buffalo with Lake Erie schooners and steamboats, which gave easy access to the eastern U.S., the upper Great Lakes, the Ohio-Mississippi River system, and, of course, Canada.

Like other port cities, Buffalo was a jumping off point for people traveling to Canada. It was also an attractive destination for freedom seekers. Buffalo's identity as a place of refuge for African Americans began in its very earliest years. Sometime in the 1780s, Seneca Indians at Buffalo Creek offered haven to an African American named Joe Hodge. Often called "Black Joe," Hodge was apparently living in slavery in eastern New York when he was captured by British and/or Indians during the Revolutionary War. After he was released at Fort Stanwix in 1784, he returned to live among the Seneca at Buffalo Creek, where he traded furs and married a Seneca woman. He had arrived by 1786, when Ezekiel Lane, the first European American born in the area, was born at Buffalo Creek. Lane reported to General Henry A.S. Dearborn in 1838 that only one other house stood at Buffalo Creek in 1786, and it was owned by "a Negro, who kept a little shop to trade with the Indians." When missionary Samuel Kirkland visited Buffalo Creek in 1788, he noted Hodge's presence. By 1791, Hodge had set up a partnership with Cornelius Winne, a Dutch American, perhaps someone that Hodge had known in eastern New York. Fluent in both Seneca and English (and perhaps also in Dutch), he often acted as an interpreter for people who arrived after him, becoming a bridge, as historian Ena L. Farley noted, between European American and Native American cultures.[70] More African Americans followed Hodge. One of those was Robert Franklin, who was killed when the British burned Buffalo in December 1813.[71]

In 1899, historian Frank Severance concluded "comparatively little seems to have been gathered up regarding Buffalo's stations and workers. The Buffalo of ante-bellum days was not a large place, and many personally escorted refugees were taken directly from

[70] Ena L. Farley, "The African American Presence in the History of Western New York," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 14:1 (January 1990); Barton Atkins, *Modern Antiquities: Sketches of Early Buffalo* (Buffalo: Courier Company, 1898), 6-7; The Circle Association's African American History of Western New York State, 1770 to 1830, which includes a brief biography of Joe Hodge by University of Buffalo archivist Christopher Densmore, May 16, 2000.

[71] Judith Wellman, "Site of Peter B. Porter House," in "Underground Railroad Sites," edr, *Niagara Fall Underground Railroad Heritage Area Management Plan* (Niagara Falls: Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area Commission, 2011) www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org.

country stations to the river ferries, without have to be hid in the city." Severance may well have been right. Even so, we find written traces of many people who escaped from slavery through Buffalo between 1820 and 1860. We have so far found thirty-one primary source accounts (i.e. evidence given by someone who was directly involved, either as a participant or an observer) related to Underground Railroad events in Buffalo. We have listed these in Appendix H.5. This list is based on work by Christopher Densmore, who focused in 2000 on newspaper sources, and Cynthia Van Ness, who in 2012 used primary accounts by people who had escaped from slavery themselves or their helpers. To these lists, we have added a handful of additional primary source accounts.[72]

Among the earliest people who escaped from slavery were several enslaved by Peter B. Porter and Letitia Porter, whose elegant house overlooked the Niagara River at Black Rock. Peter B. Porter, with his brother Augustus, owned a mile-strip of land along the Niagara River, once Seneca territory. After Buffalo's destruction in December 1813, Porter returned and built a substantial house at Black Rock. In 1818, he married Kentucky-born Letitia Breckinridge, who brought several enslaved people with her to her new home. Realizing how close they now were to Canada, all but two of these African Americans ultimately crossed the river to freedom.[73]

In 1830, Josiah Henson, later the model for Uncle Tom in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, escaped from slavery via the ferry at Black Rock.[74]

c. Abolition, African American Rights, & the UGRR in Buffalo, 1830-1850

After 1830, hundreds (and perhaps thousands) of people came to and through Buffalo to escape from slavery. William Wells Brown, who lived on Pine Street in Buffalo from about 1835 to 1843, was himself a fugitive from slavery in Kentucky. He worked as a steward on a lake steamer that ran from Cleveland to Buffalo to Detroit, and he willingly took people escaping from slavery free of charge onto the boat. "In the year 1842," he remembered, "I conveyed, from the first of May to the first of December, sixty-nine fugitives over Lake Erie to Canada." When he visited Malden, Ontario, across the river from Detroit, he found seventeen people who owed their escape to his help.[75]

In July 1835, dozens of African Americans and a few European Americans in Buffalo participated in a dramatic slave rescue, one that involved physical confrontations with slave-catchers. (William Wells Brown dated this rescue to the autumn of 1836, but both a contemporary news article and George Washington Jonson's diary date this as July 1835.)

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[72] Frank Severance, *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (Buffalo: Matthews, 1899), 240, http://archive.org/stream/oldtrailsniagara00severich/oldtrailsniagara00severich_djvu.txtChristopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, ibrary.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/; Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 36:1 (January 2012); Judith Wellman, "Underground Railroad Sites in Niagara Falls and Surrounding Area," in edr, *Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area Management Plan*, www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org; and specific research by Cynthia Van Ness, Tanya Warren, and Judith Wellman for this essay.

[73] Judith Wellman, "Underground Railroad Sites in Niagara Falls and Surrounding Area," in edr, *Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area Management Plan*, www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org.

[74] Josiah Henson, *The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself* (Boston: A.D. Phelps, 1849), http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/summary.html

[75] William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, by himself* (Boston: The Anti-slavery Office, 1847), 107-108.

This rescue illustrates a recurring theme in Underground Railroad activism—cooperative efforts between African Americans (who willingly resorted to physical defense of the fugitives) and European Americans (who lent their legal expertise and personal persuasion in support of the fugitives). In July 1835, this one-two punch resulted in freedom for the Stanford family. It also shaped the perspective of African Americans and their supporters in Buffalo for a lifetime. Because of the numbers involved, it is reasonable to assume that many of these rescuers would become members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church when it organized as Second Baptist in 1836.[76]

William Wells Brown gave the most detailed account of this rescue. In July 1835, a slave-catcher named Bacon Tate arrived Buffalo to retrieve a family named Stanford, with husband, wife, and six-week-old baby. He also had names of twenty others who had escaped, but he intended first to make an example of the Stanfords. Taking rooms in the Eagle Hotel, Tate discovered that the Stanfords had moved to St. Catherine's, Ontario. Not to be deterred, he paid a local black woman working in the hotel to find the Stanfords and ask for a week's board. When she returned to Buffalo to report on their whereabouts, Tate hired four men and a carriage to kidnap the family. They crossed the Niagara River at Black Rock early on Saturday evening and arrived at the Stanford home about midnight. Breaking in the door, they tied and gagged the family and forced them into the carriage. When they reached Buffalo at sunrise, they changed horses and went immediately south to Hamburg, New York.[77]

Alerted by a neighbor of the Stanfords, African Americans in Buffalo, including William Wells Brown, quickly organized. "The colored people of Buffalo are noted for their promptness in giving aid to the fugitive slave," Brown remembered. "The alarm was given just as the bells were ringing for church." Ten or twelve of Buffalo's black citizens gave chase, assisted by local European Americans in Hamburg, New York. They located the family and their kidnappers in a tavern. The tavern keeper shouted, "Boys, get into the room in any way that you can; the house is mine, and I give you the liberty to break in through the door or window." They needed no other invitation. Although the kidnappers threatened to shoot, rescuers pried the window open with a crow bar. They found the Stanfords tied up, gagged, and bloody, still in their night clothes.
Rescuers returned to Buffalo with both the Stanfords and the woman who had betrayed them. In Buffalo, wrote Brown, "some forty or fifty colored persons" met them. Meanwhile, Tate had recruited the sheriff and sixty or seventy canal workers to re-take the Stanford family when they tried to cross the river at Black Rock. Stanford family supporters armed themselves "with clubs, pistols, knives, and other weapons of defence" and started for the ferry. The sheriff and his men quickly surrounded the carriage, attacking with "clubs and stones," while defenders surrounded the family, fighting off their attackers and moving the crowd inexorably toward the ferry.

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76 Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, July 13, 1835, found by Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/; William Wells Brown, Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), 109-124, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/brown.html; George W. Jonson, "Journal, July 18, 1835," quoted in Elwin H. Powell, "Street as School: Ideas and Assembly in Buffalo, Seen Through the Diary of George Washington Jonson (1835-1839), Urban Education, 18:4 (January 1984), 416-17.

77 William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), 109-124, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/brown.html.

In the midst of the melee, a "little white man" appeared. His name was Pepper, and he proved himself a "valuable friend," making himself "a pepper to the sheriff and his posse." Whenever the sheriff threatened to arrest one of the Stanford defenders, Pepper would confront him for having no warrant. "He has no right to take you; knock him down," Pepper directed. And so they did. Brown recorded comments from the crowd: "That's right, knock him down; the little man told you to do it, and he is a lawyer; he knows all about the law; that's right, -- hit him again!" [78]

George W. Jonson, a Buffalo lawyer, abolitionist, and colleague of Millard Fillmore, was right in the middle of this fray. "The design of the mob," he wrote in his diary, "seemed to be to mob [the attorney] Pepper for defending the Negroes." Jonson refused to back down. "During two hours," he recorded, "I stood in the mob, alone, defending the Negroes and denouncing the mob, swearing myself in special constable, to aid the constable to defend the passage."[79]

After two hours, the crowd reached the ferry, only to discover that the sheriff had commandeered the boat. Another fight ensued, until the ferryman finally pushed off the shore with the Stanfords and many of their African American defenders. When they landed in Canada, "Stanford leaped on shore, and rolled over in the sand, and even rubbed it into his hair," recorded Brown.

The woman who betrayed them narrowly escaped death at the hands of her captors. Given over to the care of women in Buffalo, she was the focus of several meetings, where people debated whether to hang her, burn her, or throw her into the Niagara River with a heavy weight tied to her. "So conflicting were the views of those who had her in charge," remembered Brown, "that they could not decide upon what should be done with her. However, there seemed to be such a vast majority in favor of throwing her into the Niagara river, that some of us, who were opposed to taking life, succeeded in having her given over to another committee, who, after reprimanding her, let her go."

The *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* reported that eight or ten of the defenders had been arrested. William Wells Brown, however, remembered that forty defenders spent the night in jail, and twenty-five of them went to trial. They were fined from $5.00 to $50.00 each. As a result of the Tate affair, William Wells concluded that, as early as the 1830s, "the colored people of Buffalo are noted for their promptness in giving aid to the fugitive slave."[80]

Incidents such as the Stanford family rescue forced citizens of Buffalo, like those in the country as a whole, to confront personally the issue of slavery. Such a dramatic event, involving forty to fifty African American men (half or more of adult male African Americans in Buffalo at the time) certainly bound together the African American community, reminding them of the high stakes involved in escaping slavery. Given the numbers of people involved, it would have been almost impossible for people who later

[78] The only Pepper of appropriate age listed in census records for Erie County was Henry Pepper, listed in the 1860 census as sixty years old, born in Germany, a farmer in Amherst with $2200 of real property and $600 of personal property, living with his German-born wife Kate. The Peppers lived next door to William Martin, an African American farmer worth $1100, born in Maryland about 1808, his wife Mary, and a 12-year-old boy named A. Johnson, both African Americans born in New York.

[79] George W. Jonson, Journal, July 18, 1835, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, "Street as School," 417.

[80] William Wells Brown, *Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), 109-124, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/brown.html.

became members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church not to have been strongly affected by this incident. Most likely, they were also ringleaders of it. Their response—not passivity but confrontation, through both physical and legal challenges—set the pattern for public resistance through the next three decades.

As Jonson noted, Buffalo did not welcome African Americans easily in the 1830s. "The majority of the people of the city profess a horror of Abolitionism," noted Jonson, "and are in favor of the rights of the poor Negroes being over-ridden. Shame on such a community—a burning shame." Josephine Brown, who spent her earliest years in Buffalo, remembered, "Buffalo and its vicinity was at that time one of the worst places in the State, with the exception of New York city, for colored persons. Hatred to the blacks had closed all the schools against colored children, and the negro-pew was the only place in the church where the despised race were permitted to have a seat."[81]

During the Patriot War of 1837, American "Patriots" attacked Canadian defenses, hoping to initiate an uprising that would bring Canada into the U.S. The Canadian government apparently used African Canadian troops to attack the Patriots, and European Americans in Buffalo took out their frustrations against African Americans in Buffalo, treating them in a "contemptuous manner" with "opprobrious epithets." During this crisis, "It was almost impossible for us to walk the streets without molestation," wrote Abner H. Francis to the abolitionist newspaper, the *Friend of Man*.[82]

Forty-six African American men in Buffalo, many of them associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church, signed a public letter affirming their absolute loyalty to the U.S. "We would ask where can be found, under heaven," they wrote,

> a class of men that have been thus treated, that have been more subservient to the laws, made a more rapid progress, and less expense to the city, than we, the colored citizens of Buffalo? . . . . Why is it that on almost every subject brought up that leads to excitement, no matter where it originated, that the heaviest threats and greatest prejudices rest upon the colored people? Are we deserving of such treatment? Is it right that the whole colored community should be implicated for the opinions or misconduct of some of their people? Is it that we have proved untrue to our country? Surely not.

"We do assure you our interests are as much at stake, our feelings as strongly attached to this government, and as fully prepared to act in its defence, if necessary, as any other citizens amongst you, and we hope and trust such feelings will no longer be harbored against us," they concluded. "The undersigned, and numbers whose names are not here, are willing to protect the city against any aggressors."[83]

Such outspoken and passionate appeals suggested that African Americans in Buffalo had a clear sense of themselves as an identifiable community worthy of respect. The earliest formal African American organizations are another evidence of that strong sense of self. The Vine Street A.M.E. Church was the first African American church in Buffalo, organized in 1831. The Michigan Street Baptist Church followed in March 1836. A small black Presbyterian Church emerged in the 1850s.

Three African American organizations, outside churches themselves, emerged in the late 1830s. Most likely, all three included members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church

[81] George W. Jonson, Journal, July 18, 1835, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, 417; Josephine Brown, *Biography of an American Bondman, by his Daughter* (Boston: R.F. Wallcut, 1856), 54-55, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/brownj/brownj.html.

[82] Abner H. Francis, "Persecution of Colored People," *Friend of Man*, February 28, 1838, Cornell University, http://fom.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell-fom?a=d&d=TFOM18380228.2.11&e=-------en-20--1--txt-IN-buffalo----#

[83] "An Appeal to the Citizens of Buffalo," *Colored American,* January 27, 1838.

(then called Second Baptist). Three women affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church became leaders of a literary society called the Female Dorcas Society. Elizabeth Malvin, probably wife of Elder Reuben Malvin, pastor of the Second Baptist Church, was president of the Dorcas Society. Alla Harris, wife of Deacon Peyton Harris, was Treasurer. Sydna E.R.A.M. Francis, wife of trustee Abner H. Francis, was the organization's secretary. William C. Monroe [Munroe], pastor of Second Baptist, was President of the Union Moral and Mental Improvement Society. A third organization, the temperance society organized by William Wells Brown, numbered "over five hundred out of a population of less than seven hundred." Some of these hundreds were certainly affiliated with the Second Baptist Church.[84]

Such well-organized public meetings may have encouraged Buffalo's European American citizens to think more positively about local African Americans. By the 1840s, the statewide climate changed, also. After 1841, the position of African Americans who had escaped from slavery and settled in Buffalo was strengthened by a personal liberty law, passed by New York State on May 25, 1841, and signed into law the very same day by Governor William Henry Seward. Previously, slave owners had been allowed to bring enslaved people into New York State and to keep them here for nine months before they would be free. Now, New York State decreed that the moment an enslaved person stepped foot in New York State, they were legally free. News of this provision spread quickly to abolitionists throughout the state. People such as Buffalo's William Wells Brown made it a major part of their abolitionist work to inform every African American they met who had come into New York State from the South that they were now free. As Brown's daughter Josephine Brown remembered: "As Niagara Falls were only twenty miles from Buffalo, slaveholders not unfrequently passed through the latter place attended by one or more slave servants. Mr. Brown was always on the look-out for such, to inform them that they were free by the laws of New York, and to give them necessary aid. The case of every colored servant who was seen accompanying a white person was strictly inquired into."[85]

Figure 1.12: Image of the author and lecturer William Wells Brown (1814-1884) from his book, *Three Years in Europe: Places I Have Seen and People I Have Met. 1852*. Brown was born in slavery in Lexington, Kentucky and escaped in 1834. He lived in Buffalo from 1836-1845. http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/15830

Certainly by the 1840s, with New York State law on their side, many fugitives felt reasonably comfortable settling on the New York State side of the border. Buffalo offered a supportive African American community, with easy escape to Canada, should people need to leave. And, increasingly, Buffalo citizens, both African American and European American, were creating a more hospitable climate through

[84] Colored American, November 4, 1837, and September 19, 1840; William Wells Brown, Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849), 108, http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/brown.html.
[85] Josephine Brown, *Biography of an American Bondman, by his Daughter* (Boston: R.F. Wallcut, 1856), 52-53, http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/brownj/brownj.html.

active and vocal abolitionist organizing. Beginning in the 1830s, organized abolitionist networks emerged across the northeastern U.S. The American Anti-Slavery Society organized in 1833 in Philadelphia. The New York State Anti-Slavery Society emerged in October 1835 in Peterboro. Hon. Isaac Phelps, most likely an Assemblyman from Aurora, was the only delegate listed from Erie County.[86]

Local anti-slavery societies quickly followed. The Buffalo Anti-Slavery Society was organized in Buffalo's Free Church, with Hon. J. Van Valkenburgh as president, in November 1836. George Washington Jonson, wrote the Constitution for this society. He had become a "practical abolitionist," he wrote in his journal, by defending a fugitive family (almost certainly the Stanford family) from a mob on the streets of Buffalo in 1835. Although these formal anti-slavery societies were generally dominated by European Americans, they also often included African American members. In so doing, they formed one of the few opportunities for biracial public activism. In May 1845, e.g., the Erie County Anti-Slavery Society met in Hart's Garden Hall, with "20 or so whites and coloreds collected," noted G.W. Jonson. "Judge Love in the chair. Present among others, Sam R. Ward, colored, J.J. Tatum, colored. Mr. Ward lectured to a good audience."[87]

Anti-slavery societies supported agents (such as European American William Verrinder (who served briefly as minister of the Michigan Street Baptist Church) and African American Samuel R. Ward (who visited every town in Erie County in 1845), published pamphlets and newspapers, and organized a huge campaign to send antislavery petitions to Congress. Buffalo participated in all of these movements. In 1840, many anti-slavery activists also helped organized a new anti-slavery political party, the Liberty Party.

In the 1840s, as the Queen City of the Lakes, Buffalo was accessible to abolitionists from both east and west, and the city became a major center of abolitionist conventions. From August 15-19, 1843, Buffalo hosted the National Convention of Colored Citizens in the Vine Street A.M.E. Church. This was one of a series of African American conventions that began in 1830 in Philadelphia and continued until 1864. These brought together a large national network of African American leaders who dealt not only with the abolition of slavery but also with political, economic, and social rights of free people of color. The Buffalo convention was best-known for an "Address to the Slaves of the United States," given by Troy Presbyterian minister Henry Highland Garnet, in which he urged, "Brethren, arise, arise! Strike for your lives and liberties. Now is the day and the hour. Let every slave throughout the land do this, and the days of slavery are numbered . . . Rather die free men than live to be slaves . . . Let your motto be resistance! Resistance! RESISTANCE![88] Opposed by Frederick Douglass, who argued for non-violent resistance, Garnet's proposal was defeated by only one vote.

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[86] *Proceedings of the New York Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Utica, October 21, and New York Anti-Slavery State Society, held at Peterboro, October 22, 1835* (Utica: Standard and Democrat, 1835), 14, http://archive.org/details/proceedingsofnew00newy**;** John Devoy, *History of the City of Buffalo and Niagara Falls* (Buffalo: The Times 1896), http://archive.org/stream/cu31924098820701/cu31924098820701_djvu.txt.

[87] George W. Jonson, Journal, May 8, 1845, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, "Street as School: Ideas and Assembly in Buffalo, Seen Through the Diary of George Washington Jonson (1835-49)," *Urban Education* 18:4 (January 1984), 416, 419. *Friend of Man?*, November 24, 1836.

[88] Henry Highland Garnet, *A Memorial Discourse* (Philadelphia: J. M. Wilson, 1865), 44-51, www.blackpast.org/?q=1843-henry-highland-garnet-address-slaves-united-states.

The Garnet-Douglass debate over violence vs. non-violence echoed loudly across the county, but another man connected this convention directly to the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Samuel H. Davis, Oberlin graduate, born free in Maine, teacher in Buffalo's African school and, by 1844, minister of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, presided over the meeting. Davis gave the keynote address, arguing that African Americans, especially those who had once been enslaved, "must assert our rightful claims and plead our own cause."[89]

Two weeks after the National Convention of Colored Citizens, the Liberty Party convention met in Buffalo from August 30 to September 2, 1843. George W. Jonson organized the meeting, and he gave a detailed description in his remarkable diary. Turned away by every church in Buffalo, Jonson eventually arranged for a large tent to be erected in the public park across from the courthouse. Frederick Douglass, born enslaved in Maryland, and Charles Lenox Remond, born free in Salem, Massachusetts, both spoke in Buffalo that summer, as part of this abolitionist convocation. Douglass spoke daily for almost a week in the old post office (corner Washington and Seneca) "to audiences constantly increasing in numbers and respectability," until a Baptist church "was thrown open" to him, perhaps the Second Baptist chapel (later the Michigan Street Baptist Church) or perhaps the European American-dominated Washington Street Baptist Church. When the church became overcrowded, Douglass "went on Sunday into the open Park and addressed an assembly of four or five thousand persons." Abby Kelley Foster, an eloquent abolitionist and women's rights speaker from Massachusetts, and Samuel R. Ward, born enslaved in Maryland, also spoke in Buffalo that summer. James G. Birney, nominated by the Liberty Party for president, was in Buffalo in 1843, as was John Quincy Adams, former president and champion of the right of abolitionists to send petitions to Congress. The conventions, wrote Jonson, began to change the attitude of Buffalo's white citizens from "contempt to admiration," as they gained "a higher idea of the ability and worth of colored people." Slavery is "now uppermost in every mind, thanks to our persistent agitation of it," Jonson concluded after the two conventions in the summer of 1843.[90]

In 1848, Buffalo hosted two more national conventions, the National Liberty Convention in June 14-15, 1848, and the new Free Soil Party convention, where an estimated 20,000 to 40,000 delegates flooded Buffalo between August 9-10, 1848. Under the motto "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men," they nominated former president Martin Van Buren for president. These conventions brought to Buffalo abolitionists such as Gerrit Smith, whose home in Peterboro, New York, was a center of national abolitionist organizing, Frederick Douglass, Henry B. Stanton, and other major abolitionist leaders, both black and white. Henry Bibb, who had escaped from slavery in Kentucky in 1842, came to Buffalo and spoke in the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1849, part of his national lecture tour to help sell his newly published autobiography.[91]

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[89] Samuel H. Davis, "We Must Assert Our Rightful Claims and Plead Our Own Cause," BlackPast.org, http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1843-samuel-h-davis-we-must-assert-our-rightful-claims-and-plead-our-own-cause; William J. Richardson, "The Life and Times of Samuel H. Davis," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (January 2009).

[90] Mark Goldman, *High Hopes: The Rise and Fall of Buffalo New York* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983) quoted in "AA History, 1830-1865," http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/1830-1865.html; George W. Jonson Journal, August 19, 1843 and September 2, 1843, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, "Talking Abolition. . . in 1843: Frederick Douglass Speaks in Buffalo's Front Park, Excerpts from the Journal of George Washington Jonson, http://www.buffalonian.com/diaries/gwjliberty1843.html.

[91] Henry Bibb, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (New York: Author, 1849), http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/bibb/bibb.html.

Beginning in 1840, African Americans in New York State also organized their own statewide conventions. Abner H. Francis, merchant, clothes dealer, and one of the first trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, and George Weir, Jr., grocer and son of the pastor of Vine Street Methodist Episcopal Church, attended almost all of these. Michigan Street Baptist Church members supported them. In 1840, Peyton Harris and William Qualls, members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, were part of a correspondence committee to publicize the convention. Peyton Harris chaired a meeting to select delegates for another one of these conventions.[92]

Equal voting rights for African Americans was a major topic. In 1840 and 1841, the state convention met in Albany. They promoted a petition campaign, arguing that "the nature of the government we are taught, that an equality, not of property or favor, but of rights, is the firmest foundation of liberty, and that on which democracy is founded" and "that we hold the elective franchise as a mighty lever for elevating in the scale of society any people, and feel sensible, that without it, WE are but nominally free." [93]

On July 13, 1841, African Americans in Buffalo met at the Vine Street A.M.E. Church to hear Charles B. Ray, editor of the *Colored American,* and to elect delegates to the next state convention in Troy, New York. Rev. George Weir, pastor of the Vine Street Church, was elected President, and Abner H. Francis, trustee of Second Baptist Church (later the Michigan Street Baptist Church) was secretary. They took a strong public stand against colonization, the movement to encourage free people of color to move to Africa. "Resolved, that our fathers fought, bled, and died for the liberties of their country," they asserted, and "that we might have equal rights with other citizens. Therefore, we will never be forced from the shores of America - here we shall live, and here we will die and be buried by the side of our fathers." George Ware and Abner H. Francis both attended the Troy meeting as delegates from Buffalo. [94]

When New York State defeated a provision for equal voting rights for African Americans after the 1846 Constitutional Convention, abolitionist Gerrit Smith decided to take direct action. Owner of thousands of acres of land in central and northern New York, Smith decided to give land to worthy African Americans throughout New York State. Ownership of land worth at least $250 would allow African Americans to pay taxes and therefore to vote. Fifty-six African Americans in Buffalo, including several members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, took advantage of this offer.[95]

When John Quincy Adams died in 1848, African Americans in Buffalo held a memorial service at the Vine Street Church. Rev. Ware presided, and Peyton Harris, trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, served as secretary. Abner H. Francis, former trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, gave the eulogy. In the fall of 1848, Abner H. Francis served as a vice-president of the National Colored Convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, bringing with him Frederick Douglass. Notably, the convention admitted women as well as men as delegates.[96]

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[92] "Call for a Convention of the Colored Inhabitants of the State of New York," *The Colored American*, June 6, 1840 and September 12, 1840; "African American Activists in Buffalo, New York," *www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf.*

[93] "Convention of the Colored Inhabitants of the State of New York, to Consider Their Political Disabilities, held on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August, 1840, Abstract of the Proceedings," *Colored American,* September 12, 1840; "Of Colored Citizens," *The Colored American,* January 9, 1841.

[94] "Public Meeting in Buffalo, N.Y.," *The Colored American,* July 31, 1841; "Proceedings of the New York State Convention Held in the City of Troy, August 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1841, *The Colored American,* September 11, 1841.

[95] Gerrit Smith, "Account of my distribution of land among colored men," August 1, 1846, Smith Papers, Syracuse University.

In the context of these public debates, diarist George Washington Jonson recorded in July 1847 the only primary source account of an Underground Railroad that specifically mentioned members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Jonson described in detail the plight of the Brown family, who were escaping from slavery. They went first to Rev. George Hosmer, minister of the Unitarian Church. Jonson described what happened next:

> A man rattled at my office door. Opened hesitantly. It was Rev. G. W. Hosmer, Unitarian minister of Buffalo. Wanted my aid. Was very much agitated, he. A minister named East had commended to his care a colored fugitive slave, wife, children . . . Hurried off with H. to rouse some of the colored folks here to take them. Not a Negro in the streets. Went way over to Quarles on Michigan street . . . got his son to go to a colored boarding house, and after much debate, induced three or four blacks to accompany me to Hosmer's where Brown the fugitive and family were. It was now raining smartly. Found the fugitives on the side walk . . . Young their white guide, holding, an umbrella over them. Young went to Hosmers. The fugitives were quartered among the colored people . . . I learned the next day that Brown had escaped from prison in Philadelphia . . . The next day Brown went on to Detroit. I gave Rev. Young a letter of introduction to Charles H. Stewart there, commending to him the Browns . . . Quite an amount contributed here for the fugitives . . . I must do Dandridge and other colored men the justice to say they did their whole duty . . . I laugh at Hosmer's nervousness and fussing, this being his first experience in such business, which he contrived to shirk on me and the colored folks. Why did he not take the whole family into his spacious house, temporarily at least? But H. did much and is a good man--for a priest.[97]

Van Ness noted that Hosmer lived at 60 W. Mohawk, now the site of the Statler Hotel, and that Jonson boarded at the corner of Pearl and Niagara, now the site of the Main Place Mall. As Jonson noted, "the fugitives were quartered among the colored people." The specific "colored people" that Jonson noted were William Qualls and John Dandridge, both long-time trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church who most likely had escaped from slavery themselves. "Quartered among the colored people" could relate to an overnight stay in any place of shelter, perhaps the Michigan Street Baptist Church or perhaps homes, barns, or boarding houses.[98]

d. Abolition, African American Rights, & the UGRR in Buffalo, 1850s

Buffalo was an epicenter of abolitionist energies in the 1840s, connecting east coast reformers with their counterparts in the upper Midwest. Beginning on September 18, 1850, however, abolitionist and Underground Railroad activists faced a profound new threat. Buffalo's own Millard Fillmore, newly elevated to the presidency by the death of Zachary Taylor, signed the Fugitive Slave Act. By the terms of this Act, the federal

[96] "Public Meeting of Colored Citizens," *The North Star,* March 10, 1848; "Proceedings of the Colored Convention, held at Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 6, 1848," *The North Star,* September 29, 1848.

[97] George W. Jonson, Journal, July 24, 1847, quoted in Elwin H. Powell, *News from the Aceldama: Black and While Relations as Revealed by the Journal of George Washington Jonson: (1832-68),* (Buffalo: s.n., 1976), 12, and Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History.* 36.1 (Jan. 2012), 95-6.

[98] Cynthia M. Van Ness, "And Still They Come": Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History.* 36:1 (Jan. 2012).

government had authority to help enslavers recapture anyone who had escaped from slavery, whether they were in a free state or a slave one. Federal marshals could bring accused persons to a local commissioner. The accused had no right to a jury trial and no right to testify in his or her behalf. If the commissioner found in favor of the slave catcher, he received $10.00 for his trouble. If he ruled in favor of the accused, he received only $5.00. Abolitionists thought this was a bribe. And it was. [99]

African Americans and their allies in Buffalo immediately organized a resistance movement. Some of it was certainly carried out privately and left no traces for us to find. Much of it, however, was very public and very vocal. On October 3, 1850, a "large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens" met at Clinton Hall. "Resolved," agreed the meeting,

> That the law recently passed by Congress and commonly known as the fugitive slave bill (which might more properly be styled a bill to extend Slavery over the free States and encourage the kidnapping of freemen) form its palpable violation of the most sacred guarantees of the Federal Constitution, its wanton disregard of every principle of common law or natural justice, the shameful manner in which it outrages every sentiment of Christian morality and very acknowledged principle of human or divine law and the bribe which it offers to the Commissioners, in the shape of double fees, to induce them to decide in favor of slavery and against freedom, is the most corrupt, tyrannical and unjust law which ever disgraced the code of any nation, civilized or savage, christian or heathen, as such should be repudiated and disregarded by every American freeman.

This group asserted their willingness to die rather than to submit to this law. "We solemnly pledge ourselves to resist the execution of this law at all hazards and to the last extremity," they agreed, and they assured their listeners that "we utter these resolutions under no excitement, in no spirit of bravado nor with the expectation that we can cope with the power of the Government, for we know that on the side of the oppressor there is power, but as a calm deliberate expression of our fixed determination to exercise the last remaining right of freemen and which no tyranny can ever wrest from us, that of dying in defence of what little liberty we possess." At least four of the leaders of this convention—Peyton Harris, Abner H. Francis, Henry K. Thomas, and John Dandridge—were affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[100]

Two weeks later, on October 17, African Americans gathered again in Clinton Hall, this time accompanied by several white citizens, as well. They met, they said, "to adopt such measures as would at 'all hazards' and under 'all circumstances' prevent the recapture of one of our brethren, with a view of reducing them to slavery." They gave clear notice about their intentions. Since the Fugitive Slave Law violated the Constitution, "therefore we consider the fugitive slave law, no law to govern our actions, but will be resisted by us at all times, at all places, and under all circumstances," they asserted. They agreed to petition Congress against this law, to hold another meeting the following week to consider the political implications of the law, and to take up a collection in support of William L Chaplin, editor and abolitionist agent from upstate New York. Chaplin had

[99] For a discussion of Buffalo's reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law, see Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:2 (July 2003).

[100] "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens," Buffalo *Daily Republic*, October 4, 1850, in Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/.

been captured in Maryland in August 1850 while he was transporting two enslaved people to freedom, and he was held in jail with a $20,000 bond. At least five public figures at this meeting—Henry K. Thomas, James Thomas, Peyton Harris, Abner H. Francis, and William Qualls—were associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[101]

A report began to circulate, spread by the *New York Evening Post*, that 130 members of the "colored Baptist Church," fearful of arrest "for being fugitive slaves" had left for Canada, along with a large number of people from the Methodist Church. George Weir, Jr., himself a member of the Vine Street A.M.E. Church, wrote to the *North Star* on March 15, 1851, that he was "astonished" to hear such figures. No more than three people have left from the whole city, he reported. "Buffalonians are made up of different stuff. We are not so easily frightened as to leave our homes in consequence of any such machinations of the Devil; and I imagine that it would require more force than any of the Fillmore clique could summon in Buffalo to drive us from the homes of our adoption." Buffalo had "enjoyed a quietude and repose which is devoutly be hoped may continue. But when it shall be broken, Buffalo will be heard from." [102]

And Buffalo was heard from. Recognizing the likelihood of resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law, the federal government created several test cases. In communities all across the North, especially in cities with a reputation for abolitionist sympathies, they made a deliberate effort to recapture people who had escaped from slavery. The first test case in Buffalo involved Daniel Davis, second cook on the steamboat *Buckeye State*, who had escaped from slavery in Louisville, Kentucky. Daniel Davis's enslaver George J. Moore sent a man named Benjamin Rust to recapture Davis and bring him back to slavery. On August 15, 1851, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser* reported the sensational story. Confronted with recapture, Davis, with the help of four companions, refused to cooperate and resolved to "walk over corpses" rather than be retaken. In the course of his capture, Davis sustained a blow to his head that left him reeling backwards against a hot stove. Taken to the Courthouse, in spite of attempts by a crowd of mostly "colored people," Daniel Davis received a verdict of guilty from Commissioner H.K. Smith. The story did not end there, however. Davis found two clever and committed lawyers, John L. Tallcott and Seth C. Hawley, who brought a suit for assault and battery against Benjamin Rust. Rust was forced to pay a fine of $50.00. Then the lawyers brought a civil suit against Rust, who was fined $20.00, paid personally to Daniel Davis for damages. Finally, Tallcott and Hawley brought a writ of habeas corpus. The jailor was forced to let Daniel Davis go, and he immediately crossed the river to Canada.[103]

Several more cases related to the Underground Railroad in Buffalo were recorded for the 1850s. Jean Richardson identified two recaptures, one of a man named Harrison in

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[101] *North Star*, October 24, 1850, in Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/.

[102] *North Star*, March 20, 1851.

[103] *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* August 15, 16, and 19, 1851; *Buffalo Morning Express,* August 30, 1851, as noted in Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, Buffalo University, http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/; Utica *Morning Herald*, August 18, 1851. The capture of Daniel Davis on the Buffalo waterfront might be interpreted as part of the regeneration of Buffalo's historic harbor, including the area on Commercial Street near the end of the Erie Canal where William Douglas, once enslaved in Tennessee, operated Dug's Dive as a basement tavern and boarding house. For more information, see Dave Baker, http://buffaloah.com/h/dug/dug.html.

September 1851 and another of an unnamed man in October 1851. In 1853, Patrick Snead, waiter at the Cataract House in Niagara Falls, was captured and brought to Buffalo for a sensational trial that attained national proportions. He successfully escaped to Canada. In another reference, a Buffalo man often went South to rescue wives of men who had escaped from slavery. Another story described a man who betrayed people who had escaped to settle in the North. One account suggests that this man was discovered, taken out into the woods, and flogged until he almost died. He brought a complaint against his assailants, who were jailed for a time and then released without trial. Not even the sheriff could sympathize with such a betrayer. This may or may not have been the same man, William Cooper, a fugitive slave himself, who was caught trying to betray his own wife, a free woman, into slavery. A public meeting, chaired by Peyton Harris from the Michigan Street Baptist Church, pledged not to associate with Cooper in any way until he sold all his property to redeem his wife. At least four members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church participated in this meeting, including Peyton Harris, who chaired it; Rev. D.W. Anderson, pastor and Underground Railroad activist; and William Qualls and A.S. Brokenborough, long-time trustees.[104]

In December 1854, George Weir, Jr., published a detailed description in the *North Star* of a party of eight fugitives, six men and two women, straight from "Old Kentuck," who appeared at his door one morning, in the midst of heavy snow drifts, awakening him with "immense noise and confusion." It was, he reported, a "train of ears belonging to the Underground Railroad." T.R., Esq., "one of the conductors on the road," brought them into the house and then to "a public house kept by one of our people." There they ate and warmed themselves until, at 1:00 o'clock, a sleigh arrived in charge of Phoenix Lansing, Esq., to take them to the ferry at Black Rock." The 1850 Buffalo city directory listed Phoenix Lansing as a Buffalo barber. So much for the idea that the Underground Railroad was always and everywhere a secret movement. In Buffalo by the mid-1850s, it was often very public.[105]

So successful were Buffalo abolitionists in generating sympathy for people on the Underground Railroad that, by 1855, Buffalo's citizens generally took the side of fugitives rather than of their pursuers. Several newspapers, beginning with the *Romney Intelligencer,* in Hampton County, Virginia, reported in 1855 that a man named Captain John Harness had tried to recapture a fugitive in Buffalo. He could find no lawyer, however, who would take his case. In September, the *National Era,* an abolitionist paper in Washington, D.C., reprinted the story. In October, *Frederick Douglass' Paper* picked it up. By December, the *Provincial Freeman*, a Canadian abolitionist paper, had reported it. Each paper reprinted the initial report from the *Intelligencer:*

> They found, upon their arrival at Buffalo, the negro fellow still in jail. They applied to every lawyer of any respectability in the city to prepare the necessary papers, but could not obtain one, though liberal fees were offered! They applied to the firm of Smith & Haven. Smith had a year or two ago, we understand, obtained, under the provisions of the Fugitive Act, a slave

[104] Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:2 (July 2003); Account by fugitive Samuel Murray, who worked at the American Hotel and often provided food and help to people who went on to Canada, reported in Frank Severance, *Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier* (1899), 242-44, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227.

[105] George Weir. Jr., "Still They Come: Underground Railroad in Active Operation." *Frederick Douglass Paper,* January 4, I855, quoted in Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come," 93-94; 1850...1851 The Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo (Buffalo, New York: Jewett Thomas & Co., 1850) in Ancestry.com.

> belonging to Dr. Parran, of Hardy-but the firm positively refused to have anything to do with the matter, owing, as they said, to the excited state of the popular mind on the subject. Bowen, the United States Commissioner, refused to aid them in any manner in preparing their papers. The Hon. H. W. Rogers, the law partner of Bowen, and the President of the Hard Democratic Convention, which assembled in Syracuse, New York, last week, upon being applied to, through a friend, positively refused to act in the matter! Judge Hall even said to a friend of Captain Harness, that Captain Harness had better not push matters; that, even if he obtained possession of the negro, the mob would rescue him; but that if Captain Harness insisted, that he (Judge Hall) *would do his duty*. The reasons assigned by these lawyers were, that they were afraid of a mob. Captain Harness was finally compelled to leave.[106]

Significantly, each newspaper reprinted the story under the title, "The Fugitive Slave Law: A Dead Letter." Public and persistent activism—from meetings and speeches to legal and physical resistance—led primarily by African Americans, with the support of European American abolitionists, had made significant progress in generating support for the rights of African Americans in Buffalo, including those who had escaped from slavery.

e. Abolitionists & UGRR Activists Affliated with Michigan Street Baptist Church

To discover the importance of members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in abolitionism and the Underground Railroad in Buffalo, we compiled a list of fifty-eight pastors, clerks, deacons, and trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. We found their names in reports of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Mary Talbert's 1908 essay, Buffalo city directories, and scattered newspaper articles. (For an Excel database with these names, see the Appendix H.2)[107]

We compared these affiliates of the Michigan Street Baptist Church with known participants in Buffalo abolitionist activities, derived primarily from African American newspapers available online through Accessible Archives. Beginning in 1837, Charles B. Ray published in New York City the *Colored American*. In 1847, Frederick Douglass began to publish in Rochester the *North Star* and later *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. These newspapers suggest that Buffalonians held meetings on virtually every topic of concern to African Americans, from the mid-1830s to the Civil War. Many of these meetings were held in the Vine Street A.M.E. Church or, after 1849, in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. The religious affiliation of many key leaders—Robert Banks, e.g., who was active in the late 1830s; Henry Hawkins, active in the 1840s movement to integrate Buffalo's public schools; and T.T. Tatum, whose name consistently appeared in meetings in the 1840s—is not known. But persistent and vocal leaders emerged from each of the three African American churches. George Weir, Jr., was a grocer and son of the minister of Vine Street Church. Christopher Densmore identified James Whitfield, barber and poet, as a member of the small black Presbyterian congregation. Many members of the Michigan Street Church were also active in all of these local public meetings.

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[106] "The Fugitive Slave Law a Dead Letter," *The National Era,* September 20, 1855; *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* October 5, 1855; *Provincial Freeman,* December 8, 1855 Quoted also in Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come," *Afro-Americans in New York Life & History* 36:1, (Jan 2012), 95.

[107] The Nash Papers contain lists of people who gave money to the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1858 and later (Folder 218, Microfilm reel 4, Special Collections, Buffalo State), but we discovered these too late to include in this analysis.

Second Baptist Church (which became the Michigan Street Baptist Church after its building was finished in 1849) hosted many of these meetings. The first identifiable one occurred on October 26, 1841, "in the Second Baptist chapel, Niagara Street," with Peyton Harris as chair, protesting riots against African Americans in Cincinnati. On March 18, 1841, Second Baptist held a celebration of the *Amistad* rescue. Frederick Douglass spoke in the Niagara Street chapel in the summer of 1843. On January 9, 1849, Henry Bibb, who had escaped from slavery and was touring the country to raised money to free his family, spoke in the church when it met on Michigan Street. On August 1, 1849, the Michigan Street Baptist Church hosted a celebration of the First of August, commemorating British emancipation. Henry Bibb presided. On August 23, 1852, African Americans met in the Michigan Street Baptist Church to invite the next colored convention to meet in Buffalo. "Resolved," they agreed, "That the latch string of our doors is always hung on the outside, and upon this occasion, if we have two doors, two strings shall be found on the outside." In May 1861, only a month after the Civil War had begun, Buffalo African Americans met at the Michigan Street Baptist Church and pledged to recruit "a volunteer company of one hundred able bodied colored men" to fight in the Civil War. [108]

We will never know precisely how many members of this church had escaped from slavery themselves. But, as one general indication of probable enslavement, we can use place of birth, as listed in the 1850 and 1860 census records. African Americans born in states where slavery existed may, of course, have been free people of color, either born free or manumitted. Statistically, however, they were more likely to have been enslaved. In addition, anyone who listed his or her birthplace as "unknown" had almost certainly escaped from slavery.

Figure 1.13: Portrait of Henry Bibb. Bibb had escaped from slavery but had to leave his family behind. After he wrote his autobiography in 1849, he traveled throughout the North, speaking about his experiences and raising money to purchase his family. He spoke in the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1849. Henry Bibb, frontispiece, *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, an American Slave, Written by Himself* (New York: Author, 1849).

Of the fifty-eight people so far identified as affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church before 1870, sixteen were pastors and forty-two were members (including clerks, deacons, trustees) or speakers at a meeting in the church. Five of these (Abel Brown, Rev. Jeffrey, David Miller, John Sharpe, and William Verrinder) were European American pastors, and we have left these out of further calculations. Of the African American ministers, two (Rev. J. Sella Martin and Rev. Rufus Perry) had escaped from slavery themselves. One (William C. Monroe) likely had been enslaved. Two (Rev. Duke W. Anderson and Samuel H. Davis) had been born free but actively helped others escape. We could find no information about possible enslavement for six of them. Two later pastors of the

[108] *New York Age,* May 18, 1911.

church, Rev. Holland Powell, who served in Buffalo from 1885-89, and Rev. Robinson C. Quarles (Qualls/Quails), who served from 1890-92, had also been born in slavery.

Of the forty-two people affiliated with the church as members or speakers, we have no information about birthplaces for fourteen of them (33.3 percent). We can identify birthplaces for twenty-eight people. Of these twenty-eight, twenty-five of them (89 percent) had either definitely been born in slavery or most likely had been enslaved. (Seven—25 percent--had definitely been enslaved and eighteen--64 percent—had most likely been enslaved, based on place of birth in a southern state, or in one case a birthplace of "unknown.") Only three (10.7 percent) had definitely been freeborn. It is safe to assume every member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church supported abolitionism and the Underground Railroad.[109]

These statistics mirror in a more dramatic fashion the overall statistics on places of birth for African Americans in Buffalo in 1850. In 1850, 42 percent of African Americans in Buffalo listed their birthplaces as a southern state. Of major northern cities, only Cincinnati had a larger proportion (60 percent) of southern-born African Americans. In contrast, in 1850, only 16.6 percent of Boston's black population had been born in the South.[110]

The percentage of southern-born members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church whose birthplaces can be identified (89 percent) is higher than the proportion of southern-born African Americans in Cincinnati (60 percent) and far higher than for those in Buffalo as a whole (42 percent), suggesting that the Michigan Street Baptist Church formed a special attraction for people who had formerly been enslaved.

Another way that we might estimate the extent of Michigan Street Baptist Church participation in the Underground Railroad is to look at African Americans in the neighborhood surrounding the Church. Of the thirty-five people listed as Black or Mulatto in the immediate neighborhood of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in the 1850 census, eighteen, or slightly more than half (51.4 percent) listed their birthplace as a southern state (seventeen in Virginia and one in North Carolina). Seventeen (48.6 percent) listed their birthplace as a northern state (five in Ohio and twelve in New York).

If we sort people by age, we see a clearer pattern. Those who were younger may well have been born in Buffalo or the immediate area, and those who were older may have been migrants. We would expect to see a larger proportion of younger people who listed New York as a birthplace and of older people born outside New York. This is indeed the case. Of the fourteen people in 1850 who were fifteen or younger, twelve of them (85.7 percent) listed their birthplaces as a northern state (ten in New York and two in Ohio). Of the twenty-one people who were sixteen or older, only five of them (23.8 percent) listed their birthplaces as a northern state (all in New York). In contrast, more

[109] If we take all fifty-three African Americans known to be affiliated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church prior to 1870 (including pastors and members), twenty-eight of these (52.8 percent) had either definitely been born in slavery (nine or 17 percent) or most likely been born enslaved (nineteen or 35.8 percent), based on place of birth in a slave state. We could find no information on twenty (37.7 percent) Only five people (9.4 percent) could definitely be determined to have been born free.

[110]James D. Bilotta, "A Quantitative Approach to Buffalo's Black Population of 1860," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1988): 19-34; James Horton, "Shades of Color: The Mulatto in Three Antebellum Northern Communities," *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 129-130; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, "Table 6: Nativity of Boston Blacks," *Black Bostonians: Family Life and Community Struggle in the Antebellum North* (New York and London: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1979), 7.

than three-quarters of this older group (sixteen or 76.2 percent) listed their birthplaces in the South (fifteen in Virginia and one in North Carolina), suggesting that they may well have escaped from slavery.

In 1860, the pattern is similar but less dramatic. In 1860, about one-third of the total neighborhood African American population of 103 had been born in a slave state (32 percent), while sixty percent (sixty-two people or 60.2 percent) listed their birthplaces as a northern state. Seven (6.8 percent) listed their birthplaces as Canada, suggesting connections with the Underground Railroad. Of those sixteen years old or older, thirty-three (40.7 percent) were southern born (sixteen in Virginia, ten in Maryland, four in Kentucky, two in North Carolina, and one in Louisiana), while forty-two (51.9 percent) were born in a northern state (with eighteen of them from New York State). Five (6.2 percent) were Canadian-born.

Against this background, we can identify several specific members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church who stand out as consistent supporters and organizers of abolitionist meetings and/or who were associated with the Underground. Abner H. Francis, Peyton Harris, Charles E. Smith, William Qualls, Alexander Brockenborough, and John Dandridge appeared regularly in newspaper accounts. Four more were frequently active—Henry K. Thomas, James L. Thomas, and Benjamin Fleming Young. All of these people were participants and leaders from the late 1830s to the Civil War. All were extremely vocal on behalf of African American rights. Both direct and indirect evidence suggests that all of these people were also involved in the Underground Railroad. Because of his connection with family members who were known Underground Railroad activists in Busti, Chautauqua County, and Syracuse, New York, we will also look at William Storum. Two (Peyton Harris and Henry K. Thomas) of these ten people had definitely escaped from slavery; six had most likely escaped from slavery, and two more (Abner H. Francis and William Storum) were likely born in freedom but actively assisted people escaping from slavery. Both Qualls and Dandridge were specifically mentioned as helping a group escape from slavery in 1849, and all lived in households with other activists and/or with other people who listed their birthplaces as a southern state, most often Virginia. In addition, at least two of the ministers of the Michigan Street Baptist Church—J. Sella Martin and Rufus L. Perry—had escaped from slavery. Other ministers were involved in helping people escape. Brief biographies of ministers appeared in the earlier chapter. The following biographies focus on these ten members of the church. The lives of their wives and children, while much less well-documented, were intimately bound up with the stories of their more famous husbands and fathers.

Abner H. Francis and Peyton Harris were perhaps the best known of these leaders. Abner Hunt Francis was one of the original trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Francis was born in Trenton, New Jersey, about 1812. He was obviously well-educated, since he wrote regular lectures and speeches throughout his life for African American newspapers and public meetings. He was also an undaunted activist on behalf of African American rights. Francis took his first active public stand in New Jersey, when he served in 1832 as secretary of a meeting to protest the colonization movement, which organized to send free persons of color to Africa. [111] Francis had arrived in Buffalo by 1836, since he was listed on the incorporation papers for the Second Baptist Church as one of the trustees in March 1836. His name also led the list of forty-six signatures on the letter and broadside affirming the patriotism and loyalty of Buffalo Africans in 1838, and he may have been its author. He went back to New Jersey briefly

[111] "The Colored Society of Buffalo," March 29, 1836, Liber Misc 1-283, Erie County Clerk's Office.

in 1839, where he took a stand against colonizationists. He signed his letter to the *Colored American* "Yours in bonds with the oppressed."[112]

Abner Francis was back in Buffalo by 1840, when the census showed him living in a household with five free persons of color, including two adult males, two adult females, and one young woman aged 10-23. One person, most likely Francis himself, was employed in commerce. In September 1840, he began his career as a strong and vocal delegate to meetings and conventions, when he attended New York State's first black convention, held in Albany, New York. With George Weir, he was one of two delegates from Buffalo.[113]

Francis was secretary of a Buffalo meeting of African Americans, welcoming Charles B. Ray, editor of *The Colored American*, to Buffalo in July 1841, and he acted as Buffalo agent for *The Colored American.* He served as secretary of the New York State convention of colored citizens, held in Troy in August. Again, George Weir went with him. He attended the National Convention of Colored Citizens, held at the Vine Street A.M.E. Church in 1843. He became a consistent host for Frederick Douglass, when Douglass came to Buffalo, and he wrote often in the late 1840s and 1850s for the *North Star* and *Frederick Douglass' Paper.* He gave the eulogy for John Quincy Adams at the memorial service in Buffalo in March 1848. And in September, he attended with Frederick Douglass the national colored convention held in Cleveland, Ohio, where he chaired the meeting. In December 1848, he attended the annual meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society in Rochester, where he was appointed to the Business Committee and the Executive Committee. He and his "lady" supported the anti-slavery fair in 1849, organized by the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society to raise money for the movement. In 1849, Abner Francis gave the oration at the First of August Celebration, held in the new Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo. In November 1849, he opened a meeting of the ladies of Buffalo, who had gathered to present a silver pitcher to abolitionist Gerrit Smith, and he went Smith's home at Peterboro to deliver both the pitcher and a lengthy speech.[114]

Abner H. Francis earned his living partly from real estate transactions. Deeds in the Erie County Clerk's Office show many sales of land in the Michigan Street area, including sales to German real estate investors. With James Garrett, Abner H. Francis was also half of the firm of Francis and Garrett. They were "energetic, industrious, persevering gentlemen," noted Martin Delany in his 1852 *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and*

[112]William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832), 45, Google e-book; Second Baptist Church, Incorporation Papers, File 13088, Misc Book 1, p. 283, Erie County Clerk's Office; Francis to Samuel Cornish, ed., *The Colored American*, January 19, 1839.

[113] "Convention of the Colored Inhabitants of the State of New York, to Consider their Political Disabilities, held on the 18th, 19h, and 20th of August, 1840," *The Colored American,* September 12, 1840, "Minutes," *The Colored American,* January 2 and January 9, 1841. "Abner Francis," A*frican American Activists in Buffalo,* Monroe Fordham Archives, http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf.

[114] "Public Meeting in Buffalo, N.Y.," *The Colored American,* July 31, 1841; "Proceedings of the New York State Convention Held in the City of Troy, August 25th, 26th, and 27th, 1841," *The Colored American*, September 11, 1841; *The North Star,* January 7, 1848; "Public Meeting of Colored Citizens," *The North Star,* March 10, 1848; "Eulogy," *The North Star,* March 24, 1848, *The North Star,* September 29, 1848; "Fifth Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society," *The North Star,* December 29, 1848; "First of August Celebration at Buffalo," *The North Star,* August 10, 1849; "Letter from Calvin Fairbanks," *The North Star,* December 7, 1849, *Impartial Citizen,* November 28, 1849 Francis, [Abner H.], Black Abolitionist Archives, Doc. No. 10179. This list of activities is based primarily on references to Abner H. Francis in African American newspapers available through accessible Archives. As search for "A.H. Francis" revealed several more letters and articles, but these do not substantially add to material cited here.

Destiny of the Colored People of the United States. They operated a very profitable clothing business in Buffalo. They started out with seventy-five dollars, and by 1848, they supposedly grossed up to $60,000 annually, making Francis one of the richest African Americans in Buffalo.[115]

The 1850 census record does not reflect this wealth, however. In 1850, the census listed Abner H. Francis as a 38-year-old mulatto, born in New Jersey, working as an agent, living in a two family house with three people, all born in Virginia. His wife Sydna was thirty-five years old and owned property worth $150. John Dandrich (also spelled Dandridge) headed the second family in the house. He was forty-eight years old, born in Virginia, and a waiter with property worth $250. Charlott Dandrich was also born in Virginia. In 1850, she was fifty-five years old and illiterate.

In 1851, A.H. Francis and Sydna Francis moved to Portland, Oregon, perhaps because they had experienced financial difficulties in Buffalo and were seeking more lucrative business opportunities. Just as likely, however, was the potential for A.H. and Sydna Francis to continue their abolitionist work. They traveled through the Isthmus of Panama and California. Between 1851 and 1855, Abner H. Francis consistently reported on his western experiences in several letters to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, usually sending ten or twenty dollars with each letter. In Oregon, they and Francis' brother, also, were faced with the threat of expulsion, based on an 1849 Oregon law that did not allow African Americans to settle in the territory. A petition signed by 211 people convinced the Oregon legislature not to pursue the case. In Oregon, the Francis family operated a mercantile business that brought their net worth to about $36,000 ten years later. [116]

Abner and Sydna Francis may have divided their time between Portland, Oregon, and San Francisco, California. In 1860, the census listed them in both cities. In Portland, Oregon, Abner H. Francis was listed as forty-five years old, a merchant, with real property worth $16,000 and personal property worth $20,000. Sydna was age forty-four, with no property ownership. In San Francisco, Abner H. Francis was a forty-six year old merchant with $12,000 of real property and $1200 of personal property. Sydna E.R. Francis owned $10,000 of real property. They lived in the same household with William Quarles (Qualls), former member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, age fifty, a barber with personal property of $125, and Adelaide Quarles, age thirty-seven (daughter of Peyton Harris). William Brown, a servant, age forty-three, born in New York, also lived in the household. Rev. J. Edward Nash described a large migration of people from the Michigan Street Baptist Church to California about the time of the Gold Rush. These families were obviously among those who left.

Abner and Sydna Francis were still in San Francisco in 1861. According to the city directory, they lived at 913 Bush Street. They spent several weeks in Victoria, British Columbia that year, however, and Abner Francis sent a glowing report of the city to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*. "In relation to colorphobia, I must close by saying that there is a grand future for the colored man in the British possessions on the north Pacific,"

[115] Francis, Abner Hunt," *The Black Past,* http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aaw/francis-abner-hunt-1872; Martin Delaney, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Black Classic Press, 1852), 139, http://books.google.com/books?id=laJqaN7UOgcC&pg=PA139&lpg=PA139&dq=abner+h.+francis&source=bl&ots=6lOF-Ac7n4&sig=-1Z7d-iJTDU-LBUf_Dp6C4znwX8&hl=en&sa=X&ei=44cVUaygMuqQ0QH0h4GAAw&ved=0CGAQ6AEwCQ#v=onepage&q=abner%20h.%20francis&f=false.

[116] "Sketches from California," *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* October 23, 1851; "Francis, Abner Hunt," *The Black Past,* http://www.blackpast.org/?q=aaw/francis-abner-hunt-1872.

Francis wrote to Douglass in 1861. Shortly thereafter, he and Sydna moved to Victoria, B.C., themselves, where Abner died in 1872. He was buried in Quadra Street Cemetery, only fifty-nine years old.[117]

One of Abner H. Francis' fellow trustees in the Michigan Street Baptist Church was Peyton Harris. About 1792, Harris had been born in slavery in Powhatan County, Virginia, about fourteen miles from Richmond. As his obituary noted, "He operated boats on the James River and was in the business of hauling coal and other merchandise from point to point with six-horse teams long before the railroads came into operation."[118] Peyton Harris fought in the War of 1812, working on forts between Washington, D.C. and Chesapeake Bay. Harris had joined the War of 1812 on the U.S. side with the understanding that military service would lead to his freedom. At the end of the war, "not a slave who entered the service was freed," remembered Harris, "but that on the contrary they were all remanded to Slavery by their masters." After he moved to Buffalo, Harris walked every year in Fourth of July parades with veterans of the War of 1812.[119]

Rather than return to slavery, Peyton Harris left Virginia. At some point, he was recaptured and sent to jail in Washington, D.C., along with other "persons claimed as slaves or fugitives from service," where he stayed for 321 days, at a cost to the federal government of $109.14. This experience only reached the historical record when Alexander Hunter, marshal of the District of Columbia, petitioned the House of Representatives in 1848 to pay him for the cost of maintaining Harris and others on behalf of the U.S. Since Hunter's request covered a period of several years, we do not know when Harris was jailed.[120] By 1833, Peyton Harris and his wife Alla, who was born in Virginia about 1799, had arrived in Buffalo. Both Peyton and Alla Harris became staunch members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Peyton was deacon and trustee for most of his life, and he regularly attended annual meetings of the Buffalo Baptist Association. He located land for the Michigan Street Baptist Church, provided lumber and bricks for its construction, and built his own two-family house right next door. Both continued to work for the Michigan Street Baptist Church until their deaths—Alla in 1854 and Peyton in 1882.

Peyton and Alla Harris lived in several different places in Buffalo. In 1836, their home was on Washington Street below Huron. By 1840, they were at Michigan Street near Sycamore. The 1859 city directory listed them at 517 Michigan Street. In 1860, Peyton was listed as a "renovator" at 385 Michigan, and they were living at 379 Michigan. Without following address changes generally, we cannot tell for certain, but this may have been the double house that Harris built next door to the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[121]

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[117] "Letter from A.H. Francis," *Douglass' Monthly,* January 1861; Edgar Fawcett, *Some Reminiscences of Old Victoria* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 135.

[118] Buffalo City Directories at http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church,* 6, 13, 14; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf.
http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F40A11FE35581B7A93C1A91789D85F468884F9
http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.html
Congressional Series 513 1848 p. 451House of Reps; 1850 Fed. Census; *Buffalo Daily Courier,* October 20, 1866; *Buffalo Daily Courier* November 28, 1859; *Buffalo Courier & Republic,* April 10, 1867.

[119] Peyton Harris, September 30, 1863, printed in *New York Daily Tribune,* October 16, 1863.

[120] *Congressional Serial Set, Issue 513* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1848), 450-51.

[121] Buffalo city directories.

According to the 1850 census, neither Peyton Harris nor Alla Harris could read or write. In spite of that, Peyton Harris became one of Buffalo's richest African Americans. As his obituary noted, "Mr. Harris was a rich man." "During his long residence here he was in business of various kinds, being at one time the owner of several canal boats." Harris started out modestly. The 1840 city directory listed Harris as a wood dealer. The 1850 census listed him as a clothes dealer. By 1875, the census listed him as a tailor. Harris also invested in real estate. He apparently bought two hundred acres at the head of Grand Island, and by the mid-nineteenth century, he was assessed on property worth $12,000. He also returned to his earlier occupation, owning several canal boats, which most likely ran on the Erie Canal.[122]

Peyton Harris was one of Buffalo's most outspoken citizens in opposition to slavery and in support of African American rights. He signed the petition affirming the patriotism of African Americans in Buffalo in 1838. He participated in major local and national meetings, including the National Colored Convention held at the Liberty Street Church, Troy, New York, October 9, 1847. He was elected Vice President of the 1849 National Colored Convention. In 1850, he attended the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens," held at Union Hall in Buffalo on October 3, 1850, to protest the Fugitive Slave Law. He chaired a meeting held at the Michigan Street Baptist Church on August 23, 1852, inviting the next Colored National Convention to hold its meeting in Buffalo. In 1854, he arranged for African American lecturer William J. Watkins to speak in the Buffalo Courthouse. He chaired the 1857 meeting of three African churches (the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Vine Street M.E. Church, and perhaps a small Presbyterian congregation) in the city to protest William Cooper's betrayal of his wife back into slavery.[123]

On May 11, 1861, Peyton Harris chaired the "large and enthusiastic meeting of colored citizens," held in the Michigan Street Baptist Church to consider organizing a "colored regiment." The meeting resolved, "That, in the event that it shall be deemed necessary, we do hereby pledge ourselves to raise a volunteer company of one hundred able bodied colored men to aid in the defense of our country, against Southern aggression, and as interest of which, we tender our services to the government."[124]

The Civil War brought back memories to Harris of his own service in the War of 1812. In a letter printed in the *New York Daily Tribune* on October 26, 1863, Harris recalled:

> SIR: The following facts will show, I think that the slaves of the South will put very little confidence in the promises of freedom which their masters may make to them. The facts are fresh in the memory of all colored men, who were old enough at the time to understand them, and the slaves of the South are quite well informed in regards to them. During the war of 1812 I resided in Virginia, about fourteen miles from Richmond.
>
> With numerous other colored men I was in the army under Gen. Cox. after Washington was burned by the British, marched to Washington, and was employed to the forts between Washington and Chesapeake Bay. We, colored men, were informed that a proclamation had been issued by Gen. Jackson, promising freedom to all slaves who should Join the army. At the close of the

[122] *Buffalo Express,* February 3, 1882.

[123] *Frederick Douglass Paper,* September 3, 1852; *Albany Argus*, March 24, 1854.

[124] *New York Age,* May 18, 1911.

> campaign Adjutant-Gen. Butler made a speech (I think in Mobile), highly complimenting the colored people for their bravery and good conduct, and stating that he should recommend them to the President of the United States for their loyalty and bravery. This speech was printed in a pamphlet, and distributed generally among the colored people. I had one of them myself. These promises were all violated. I know that in Virginia several negroes received 39 lashes each merely having the pamphlet in their possession. It was perfectly well understood among the slaves and other colored men of the South that not a slave who entered the service was freed, but that on the contrary they were all remanded to Slavery by their masters. Buffalo, Sept. 30, 1863. PEYTON HARRIS.

Peyton Harris continued his activism after the Civil War. In October 1866, Harris served as a Vice-President of the State Convention of Colored Men in New York, held in Albany and devoted to black male suffrage. Susan B. Anthony attended this convention as part of her efforts to promote universal suffrage (i.e. votes for both women of all ethnic backgrounds and African American men). While Peyton Harris admitted that "he had a great affection for the ladies, both black and white," he opposed admitting Anthony as a delegate. Newspaper accounts disagree on the outcome, but the *New York Herald* reported that Anthony, along with a U.S. Senator and two ministers, was admitted as a honorary delegate but not permitted to speak. In 1868, Harris served as a vice-president of the African Civilization Society, an organization based in Weeksville, Brooklyn, and devoted primarily to organizing schools for freed people of color in the South. Its director was Rev. Rufus L. Perry, once pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[125]

When Alla Harris died in 1854, after a long illness, she was eulogized "as an exemplary Christian, a fond and faithful parent, and a kind and devoted companion. Her disposition was extraordinary for mildness, calmness, self command, and affectionate tenderness of manner; hence, she beloved and respected by all who knew her. Possessed of a benevolent heart, she was ever ready to relieve the wants of the destitute, to sympathize with the oppressed, to comfort the afflicted, and to minister to the sick. . . . the church, with which she was connected, has been bereft of one of its brightest luminaries." "A very large concourse of people, without distinction of color or denomination" attended the funeral before she was buried in Forest Lawn cemetery.[126]

In 1860, after Alla's death, Peyton married Rebecca, born free about 1790 in Richmond, Virginia. Rebecca lived to be more than 100 years old and remembered seeing George Washington when he visited Richmond. She and her family left Richmond about 1855 because of agitation about slavery. She lived in New York City and Detroit before moving to Buffalo to marry Peyton Harris. [127]

When Peyton Harris died in 1882, at the age of 90, his obituary called him "one of the most worthy colored citizens of Buffalo, who showed "unusual energy and ambition"

[125] "Negro Convention, Gathering of the Colored People of the State at Albany," October 17, 1866, *New York Herald;* "Go Away White Ooman, You Can't Come In," *Macon Weekly Telegrapher*, November 5, 1866*; Memphis Daily Avalanche,* October 27, 1866; "Ninth Anniversary Celebration of the African Civilization Society," *New York Herald*, May 8, 1868.

[126] Obituaries, Peyton Harris, *Buffalo Express*, February 3, 1882, and Alla Harris, *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, October 27, 1854.

[127] "Over 100 Years Old," *Wyoming County Times*, March 21, [c.1890]. "Over A Hundred Years Old," [Buffalo newspaper, March 19, c. 1890]."

from an early age. He was "a truly Christian man" and "a strong Republican, always intensely interested in politics."[128]

Peyton Harris had eight children. His daughter Anna married Robert Talbert. Their son William Talbert married Mary Burnett, who became an anchor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and other movements for the rights of African Americans and women in the Progressive Era. Harris's daughter, Adelaide, married William Qualls (also spelled Quarles or, less frequently, Quails) and lived next door to Peyton and Alla Harris in 1850.

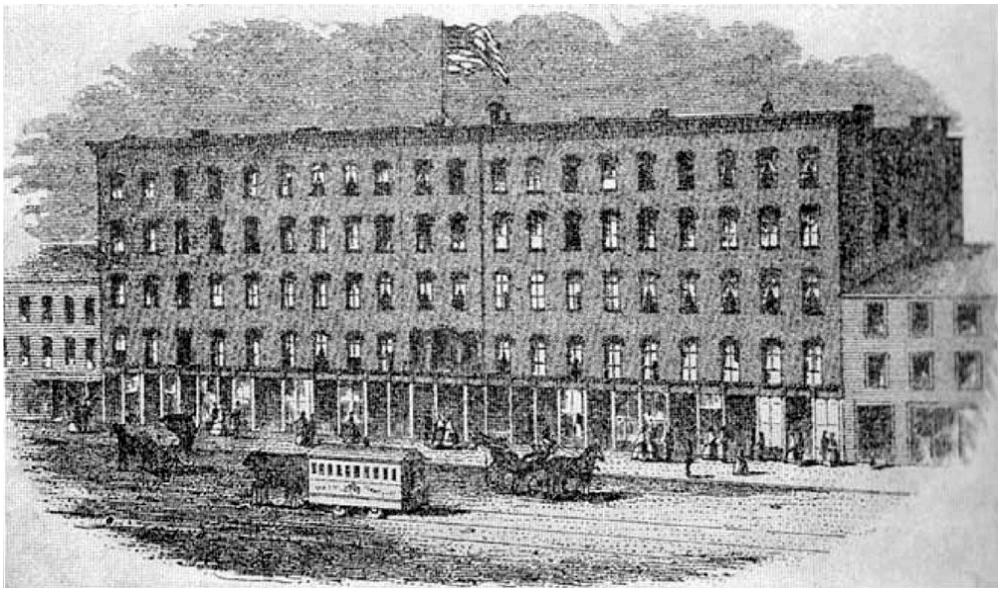

Figure 1.14: The American Hotel in Buffalo where William Qualls, an active member of Michigan Street Baptist Church, had his barber shop in 1858. Image titled "The Second American Hotel, Burned 1865, From a Lithograph of 1862," Frank H. Severance, ed. *The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo* (Buffalo Historical Society Publications 16 (1912), 492.

William Qualls, like Peyton Harris, had been born in slavery. In Buffalo, he worked tirelessly for African American rights. Qualls was born in Virginia about 1810. He moved to Buffalo sometime before 1840, working at the firm of Chew & Qualls on Michigan Street near Genesee. City directories from 1848 to 1858 show William Qualls as a barber (working at the Western Hotel in 1848, in a shop at 293 Main Street with a house at 519 Michigan Street in 1851, and at the American Hotel in 1858.) The 1850 census listed William Qualls as a barber, illiterate, living with his wife Adelaide Harris, daughter of Peyton and Alla Harris, who also had been born in Virginia. Their children Elizabeth (born in Virginia) lived with them, along with two other children, Frances Harris, age eleven (probably Peyton and Alla's daughter) and Mary Phillips, age 4 (probably a daughter of the Phillips family, who lived next door). Emeline Coy, twenty-five years old, born in Virginia, also lived in the household. This is the same Emeline Coy who had joined the Michigan Street Baptist Church about 1842 and later ran a boarding house on Michigan Street.

Peyton and Alla Harris, next door to the Qualls family, shared their two-family home with Richard Phillips, cook, age 39; his wife Caroline, age 32; Anna Harris (probably Peyton and Alla's daughter), age 18; and Thomas Phillips, age 4. Except for the youngest

[128] *Buffalo Express*, October 3, 1882.

(eleven-year-old Frances Harris, eight-year-old Thomas Phillips, and four-year-old Mary Phillips, all members of these three families (Qualls, Harris, and Phillips), living in two contiguous houses, had been born in Virginia.

By 1860, William Qualls and Adelaide Peyton Qualls were living in California, in the same house with Abner H. Francis and Sydna Francis. Daughter Elizabeth was listed in the 1860 directory at 381 Michigan Street, where Emeline Coy and her sister Sarah Coy kept their boarding house. William and Adelaide Qualls returned to Buffalo sometime after 1860. When Adelaide Harris Qualls, died on July 9, 1871, age 68, her funeral was held at the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[129]

From the time of his arrival in Buffalo, William Qualls—with his father-in-law Peyton Harris—worked tirelessly for the Michigan Street Baptist church as deacon, trustee, and delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association. He and Peyton Harris found the property upon which the church was built.

Like Peyton Harris, William Qualls was also one of Buffalo's most active reformers. He signed the petition affirming the loyalty of Buffalo's African Americans in 1838. He became an agent for *The Colored American* newspaper. He was elected Vice-President of the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens," held in Union Hall to protest the Fugitive Slave Act on October 3 and October 17, 1850. And he, with Harris, organized the meeting of the three African churches in 1857, to protest William Cooper's selling his wife back into slavery.

Charles E. Smith served as a delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association in 1840, the first year that Second Baptist Society was represented. He was elected trustee at the reorganizational meeting in 1844, and he remained a trustee for many years. Charles Smith and his wife Amelia were both born in Virginia, in 1809 and 1814. Without evidence to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that they were born in slavery and migrated to the North, where they settled in Buffalo. They remained long-time members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, living on Genesee Street at least until 1878 (188 Genesee Street in 1847 and 121 Genesee Street in 1878. The 1860 census listed Smith as a farmer, with real estate worth $4200 and a personal estate of $1800. Charles was listed a trustee of the church in 1858, and when he died, his funeral was held in the church on June 4, 1878.[130]

Alexander S. Brokenborough had been born in Virginia about 1810. He married Margaret, born in Scotland in 1810, and they had four sons, including Silas P., born about 1845 in New York State, who himself became an active member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. In 1850, a fifteen-year-old girl named Margaret Bow, born in Canada, also lived with this family.[131] Brokenborough first appeared in the Buffalo city directory in 1838. In 1840, the Brokenborough family lived at 238 Washington Street, near Swan, in Buffalo's second ward. The 1841 city directory listed him as a tailor and clothes cleaner at 2 East Seneca. In 1855 and 1860, the city directory listed the Brokenborough residence as 193 Genesee Street.

[129] *Buffalo Courier*, July 10, 1871.

[130] *Buffalo City Directory* (1858), 30; *Buffalo Courier,* June 3, 1878.

[131] 1850 U.S. Census.

The Brokenborough family became some of the earliest and longest members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Alexander Brokenborough served as a delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association in 1843 and as trustee in 1858. He was also active in Buffalo reform meetings from 1838 to 1870. In 1838, in the context of accusations that Buffalo African Americans might help Canada in the aftermath of the Patriot War of 1837, he signed the letter asserting the patriotism of local African Americans. He spoke in 1841 at a Buffalo meeting expressing gratitude for the liberation of the Amistad captives. That same year, he became president of a committee to recruit subscribers to *The Colored American*. In 1850, he served on a committee of three (the others were Rev. Deaton Dorrell and Rev. D.W. Anderson of Michigan Street Baptist Church) to prepare a resolution reflecting sentiments of the mass meeting called to protest William Cooper's action, following the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, in betraying his wife back into slavery. Brokenborough subscribed to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1854 and perhaps in other years, also, and he gave the sermon at the Buffalo celebration of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870.[132]

John Dandridge (sometimes spelled Dandrich) was born in Virginia in 1802. His wife Charlotte was also Virginia-born. John Dandridge, a tailor, had arrived in Buffalo by 1836, when he became one of the first trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. He signed an "X" for his mark on the original incorporation papers. He signed the 1838 petition affirming African American loyalty to the U.S., and he continued to promote African American rights in the 1840s. In February 1841, he became an agent and member of a committee to recruit subscribers to *The Colored American*. On March 18, 1841, he offered prayer at the celebration of the *Amistad* rescue held at the church. On October 3, 1850, he attended the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens" in Buffalo at Union Hall to discuss the Fugitive Slave Law. In July 1847, Dandridge was one of those African Americans specifically mentioned in George W. Jonson's account of the rescue of the Brown family. "I must do Dandridge & the other colored men, the justice to say they did their whole duty," Jonson wrote. By 1850, Dandridge and his wife Charlotte were living in a two-family house with Abner H. Francis. The Dandridges had no children living with them. According to the 1851 city directory, they lived on William St. at the corner Michigan Street. By 1855, they seem to have left the city.

Henry K. Thomas (1809-1882) was another well-documented member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. He was born in slavery in Charlottesille, Virginia, on a plantation owned by Charles Thomas, near that of Thomas Jefferson. His mother was a remarkable enslaved woman named Sally Thomas, born in 1787. When her owner and his wife died, Sally Thomas became part of the Thomas estate. She was sent to Nashville, Tennessee, where she was allowed to set up her own laundry. Both Henry and his older brother John Rapier (born 1808-1869) moved with their mother to Nashville.[133]

At the urging of his mother Sally, who feared he would be sold, Henry escaped from slavery in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1834. He was captured in Louisville, Kentucky, and confined hand and foot in a guardhouse. One night, he broke free of his leg irons, ran

[132] Buffalo city directories, 1838, 1848, @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/1857.html; "A Meeting of Congratulation," Buffalo, *Colored American*, March 28, 1841; Lillian Serece Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940* (200), 17; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf; The *Colored American*, February 20, 1841; *Frederick Douglass Paper,* October 20, 1854.

[133] John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *In Search of the Promised Land: A Slave Family in the Old South* (115-16); Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church,* 6, 13. Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come," *Afro-Americans in New York Life & History* 36:1, (Jan 2012), 101.

down to the Ohio River, and untied a boat in which he drifted downstream. "The night was cold," Henry wrote afterwards. "I headed the yawl downstream, sculled over the falls and made for the Indiana shore. There I found a man who freed my hands."[134]

Henry settled in Buffalo as a barber. By the late 1840s, he was living at 18 William Street, with a barbershop at the Niagara Temperance House. In 1850 he lived in Buffalo's 4th Ward and owned property, according to the 1850 census, worth $300. His wife Maria Thomas listed her birthplace as Virginia, and the daughters—three and five yeas old—were both born in New York. With them lived Mary Birtch, born in Kentucky.[135]

Henry K. Thomas became a trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. He also took an active part in political meetings. He attended the meeting in the Second Baptist Church in November 1841 to protest the Cincinnati riots. He was appointed one of two convention secretaries at the 1843 National Convention of Colored Citizens held in Buffalo, and he called to order the October 17, 1850 "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens" at Clinton Hall to protest the Fugitive Slave Law.

Concerned that he and his family might be captured and returned to slavery, Henry K. Thomas and his family left Buffalo for the settlement of freed people in Buxton, Ontario, in 1851. A recent archeological investigation of the Thomas homesite in Buxton uncovered a Civil War-era button. One of the Thomas sons fought in the Civil War and then returned home to Buxton, and this may have belonged to him. After more than thirty years in Buffalo and Buxton, sixty-one-year-old Henry K. Thomas and Maria Thomas moved in 1870 to Bovina, Mississippi, an African American settlement near Vicksburg, where the family operated a boarding house. Henry taught school, was elected Justice of the Peace in 1873, and became postmaster in 1880. Henry died November 9, 1882, but Maria lived until 1895. [136]

James L. Thomas, born about 1805, may or may not have been a brother of Henry. [Henry had a brother James P. Thomas, but he was supposedly born in 1827.] James was living in Buffalo by 1840 on Washington Street near Perry. James Thomas probably moved to Michigan in the mid-1840s, since one of his daughters was born in Michigan about 1844. By 1850, James was living in Buffalo's 4th Ward in a three-family home with two families, all with birthplaces in either southern states or, in the case of James, in an "unknown" location. Use of "unknown" as a birthplace is often an indication that the person had been born in slavery but did not wish to reveal this information to the census taker. Several children lived in this complex. All but James Thomas's daughter were born in New York. The 1850 census listed James as a cook with $1500 worth of real estate. Directories in the 1850s listed him as living at 231 East Genesee Street. James Thomas became a trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. He was one of the vice-presidents of the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens of Buffalo," on October 17,

[134] http://libres.uncg.edu/ir/uncg/f/L_Schweninger_Slave_1975.pdf. See also report by Tanya Lee Warren, "Henry K. Thomas," unpublished ms.

[135] City directories, 1849-51; 1850 U.S. Census.

[136] "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens," http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.htm. 115-116 of Franklin & Schweninger; "Update on a Button."

1850, to protest passage of the Fugitive Slave Law on September 18, 1850. James Thomas remained a trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church as late as 1861.[137]
Benjamin Fleming Young was born in Virginia about 1815. In 1850, according to the 1850 census, he worked as a waiter in Buffalo and lived with a European American tailor named Buemel. By 1855, he had moved to 204 S. Division Street, where he continued to live at least through 1860, when he worked as a porter. In 1880, he was a janitor who lived at 1 Genesee Street. Both he and his wife Elise stated in 1880 that their parents had been born in England. Young was a trustee of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and consistently attended anti-slavery meetings in Buffalo. His funeral on May 17, 1883, was held at the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[138]

William Storum was free born, but it is very likely that he participated actively in the Underground Railroad. Storum was descended from a man born in Africa and brought in the early eighteenth century to Dutchess County, New York, where he married a Native American woman. Their son Charles Storum, born between 1743 and 1751, enlisted in the Revolutionary War in 1776 and served as a surgeon's assistant at Fishkill and Fort Montgomery (where he escaped from the British). He was discharged at Fishkill but went to Yorktown, Virginia, where he enlisted again. He served for eight months and witnessed the surrender of General Cornwallis to the American troops. In 1781, Charles Storum became a whaler. He married Mary Polly Ann Fowler in Windsor, Connecticut, and they had four sons. In his later years, he traveled by mule cart between the homes of his sons. He died about 1843, aged about one hundred.[139]

William Storum, Sr., was born about 1788 in Windsor, Connecticut, the second of Charles and Polly's four sons. By 1816, he and his wife Sarah Ann Gomer lived in New Hartford, Oneida County, New York. That year, they moved by oxcart to Busti, Chautauqua County, New York, where they purchased a farm of 140 acres. They made it, remembered son-in-law Jermain W. Loguen, "one of the best farms in the county." William Storum, Jr., and Sarah Gomer Storum had seven children. Daughter Caroline Storum, born in 1817, married Rev. Jermain W. Loguen, who had escaped from slavery in Tennessee. They moved to Syracuse, New York, and by the mid-1850s kept the main Underground Railroad safe house in Syracuse. Rev. Loguen became known as the "king of the Underground Railroad," while Syracuse was the "grand central depot." [140]

William Storum, Sr., had a younger brother, Charles, born in 1793. Charles married a woman named Serepta, and they moved to Housfield Township, Jefferson County, New York. They had a son William Storum, born in 1815. He married Mary A. Canaday, from Sussex County, Virginia. Between 1842 and 1844, William and Mary Storum moved to Buffalo, New York, and became members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. In 1844, William Storum worked on the lake, and he and Mary lived at 53 Elm Street in Buffalo. By 1850, he was working as a cook. In the 1870s and early 1880s, the Storum family became some of the most important members of the Michigan Street Baptist

[137] 1850 U.S. Census; city directories; Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; 1840 Buffalo City Directory at http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens," http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.htm.

[138] Census records, 1850 and 1860; city directories; Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church,* 6; *North Star,* August 24, 1849; *Buffalo Courier,* May 17, 1883.

[139] Tanya L. Warren, "The Storum Family History." See Appendix I.

[140] For more on the Underground Railroad in Syracuse and Onondaga County, see Judith Wellman, "Sites Relating to the Freedom Trail in Syracuse and Onondaga County," Preservation Association of Central New York, http://pacny.net/freedom_trail/.

Church, helping to save it from dissolution. The Storums received a mortgage and other financial help from Robert Talbert, son-in-law of Peyton Harris. Complexities relating to these financial arrangements led to a lengthy lawsuit after Storum's death. [141]
William and Mary Storum had two children. James Storum began teaching in Buffalo. In 1870, he graduated from Oberlin College and went to Washington, D.C., to teach at Wayland Seminary (where J. Edward Nash graduated). Serpeta Storum sang at the celebration for the Fifteenth Amendment at the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1870. After 1880, she worked and taught at hospitals for the poor in Washington, D.C. She died in Buffalo on March 11, 1896, and her funeral was held in the Michigan Street Baptist Church.

We do not have specific references to Underground Railroad work by William Storum. But the fact that he was a cousin of Caroline Storum Loguen, who with her husband Jermain Loguen kept the main Underground Railroad station in Syracuse, New York, suggests the possibility that the Storum and Loguen families worked closely to facilitate travel from people escaped from slavery.

After the Civil War, both Storum and Loguen families were closely associated with Frederick Douglass and his family. Amelia Loguen married Lewis Douglass, son of Frederick Douglass. By 1879, Amelia Loguen Douglass and Lewis Douglass lived in Washington, D.C., with sister Sarah Loguen, one of the country's earliest women doctors, and sister Mary Loguen Cromwell. They lived next door to their second cousin James Storum and his wife Carrie Storum, in buildings owned by Frederick Douglass.

f. Abolition & UGRR Summary

Based on this most recent research and documentation there is plentiful evidence of Underground Railroad activism associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church:

- We can identify birthplaces for twenty-eight known affiliates of the Michigan Street Baptist Church before 1870. Twenty-five of these twenty-eight (89 percent) had been born in a southern state. Two ministers (Rufus Perry and J. Sella Martin) had definitely been born in slavery.

- Statistics for neighborhood residents suggest that the area around the Michigan Street Baptist Church was a magnet for people who had escaped from slavery and chose to settle in Buffalo. In 1850, more than three-quarters of those aged sixteen or older (76.2%) listed their birthplaces in the South. Overwhelmingly they came from Virginia. Further research might trace them back to their homes in Virginia to discover whether this Buffalo neighborhood became a transplanted community network of people who had first known each other in Virginia.

- These statistics do not include members and pastors for whom we have no relevant information. Most likely, every member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church supported this movement.

[141] NYS Superior court, Case "TALBERT v. STORUM. (Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Fourth Department.) 1896, http://books.google.com/books?pg=PA1047&lpg=PA1047&dq=james+storum&sig=vXNdzE6DotN1E_5Ps6sA26usdZg&ei=YHt5UOf3MMu_0QGC-oCQCQ&id=m-47AAAAIAAJ&ots=v0KHDm_tbI&output=text.

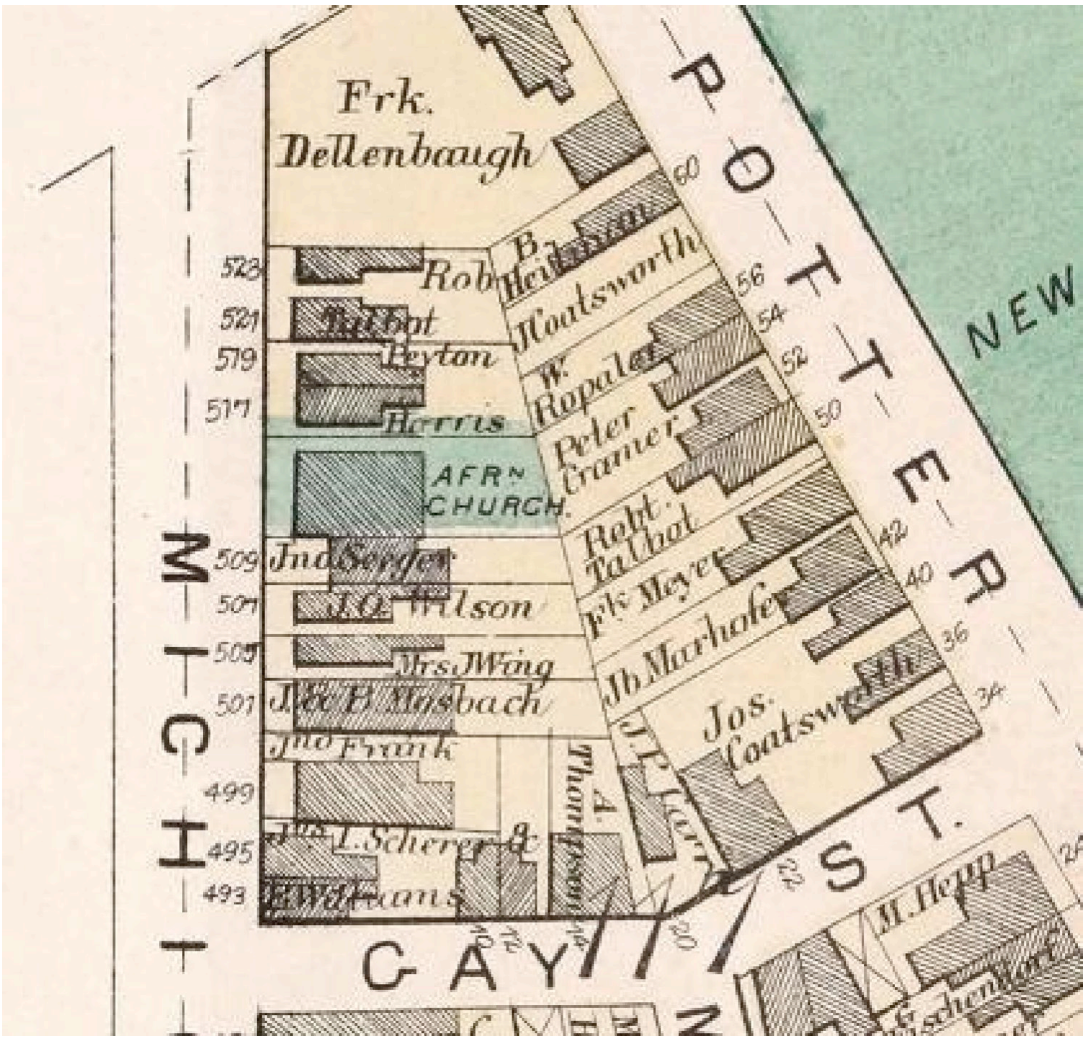

Figure 1.15: Detail of Atlas of the *City of Buffalo, Erie County, New York*. (Philadelphia: G.M. Hopkins and Co., 1872). Note map indicates "AFR'N CHURCH" as well as houses labeled to the north as Payton Harris and Rob. Talbot.

3. Local Decline and National Resurgence, 1870-1922

In 1870, the future looked bright for African Americans in Buffalo and throughout the nation. On February 3, 1870, Congress and the country ratified the Fifteenth Amendment: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The full weight of the federal government now stood behind full citizenship rights for African Americans, everywhere in the U.S. In Buffalo as throughout the country, African Americans celebrated. "We are now under the flag," said Frederick Douglass.[142]

For the Michigan Street Baptist Church, however, 1870 signified a low point in terms of membership and financial support. From a high of ninety-four members in 1852, the church dropped to only twenty-four members in 1870. By 1872, they had increased to forty-one members. By 1875, they numbered fifty-one, but they dropped to twenty, under Rev. J.

[142] Douglass speech, 1870, www.fultonhistory.com.

Tanner, in 1877, to twenty-three in 1879, to twenty-one in 1880, and to eighteen in 1882, the year that their long-time benefactor Peyton Harris died. Old stalwarts of the congregation continued to fill offices: A.S. Brokenborough served as clerk in 1875, while Charles Smith, one of the first trustees, served as delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association. In 1880, the long-time member William Storum served as both clerk and delegate (along with S.P. Barker).[143]
The founding generation of members, most born in slavery and finding a life of freedom in Buffalo, were dying off, and younger people had not replaced them. The congregation finally dwindled to thirteen—the "faithful 13," Mary Talbert called them—in 1883, 1884, and 1885. Their names, as Talbert recalled them, were: Mary Bartlett, wife of William Bartlett; Sarah Coy (who "acted as a janitor without pay, faithfully guarding all of the church property"); Emeline Coy; Mary Elebeck (mother of Mary Bartlett); Elvira Green; John Gramby; Philip Peck; Anna Leslie (mother of Laura Dowling, who came to Buffalo as a bride from Toronto in 1849 and remained with the church until she died in 1891); Rachall Peters (sister of Martha Cannon); William Storum; Anna M. Talbert (mother of William Talbert and daughter of Peyton Harris); Charlotte Tucker (sister of Mrs. Catto); and Rebecca Harris (second wife of Peyton Harris). Philip Peck, who had returned from a lengthy stay in California, took over the pulpit from 1883-85, and served as pastor, clerk, and Sunday School superintendent. Beside Brother Peck, they had only two male members—John Gramby and William Storum—who were "old and infirm" and not able to contribute financially to the church.[144]

The Michigan Street Baptist Church had never, except for Peyton Harris, had a wealthy congregation. They worked closely with other churches, which sometimes gave donations to support their minister. In 1859, e.g., Peyton and Rebecca Harris gave a donation party to benefit their new minister, J. Sella Martin. Again in 1867, the congregation appealed to the "Christian public" of Buffalo to help them repair their church, for "it is at present in a very dilapidated condition."[145]

In April 1868, the congregation was forced to mortgage their building. Alexander S. Brokenborough lent them five hundred dollars, secured by the mortgage, with approval from five of the trustees, Robert Smith, Charles E. Smith, Edwin J. Lewis, James Henry, and Ralph Dickes.[146]

In this crisis, in 1885, burdened with a debt of $900 and no readily available means to pay it, two factors changed the fate of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. First, James Storum, well-known educator and son of William Storum, returned at least briefly to Buffalo to help organize church affairs. With Philip Peck, James Storum acted as delegate to the Buffalo Baptist Association. Second, William Storum, doubtless with strong support from the dwindling congregation, appealed to the newly-organized Buffalo Baptist Union (formed in 1880). E.L. Hedstrom, head of the Union, devised a plan that changed the fortunes of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. "As truly as Lincoln has been called the Savior of his country," wrote Mary Talbert, "so the future generations must look upon Mr. E.L. Hedstrom as the Savior of this church." [147]

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[143] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 8; Buffalo Baptist Association annual reports, 1875, 1879, 1880.

[144] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 8.

[145] *Buffalo Courier*, March 7, 1867.

[146] "In the Matter of the Application of the second Baptist Society of the city of Buffalo, for leave to mortgage their real estate," April 10, 1868, File 13088, Erie County Clerk's Office.

Hedstrom reported back to the anxious congregation: the Union "had decided to gather them under its care." In 1885, Hedstrom working with the Buffalo Baptist Union repaired the church and added new windows. They re-opened the church on January 1, 1886. P.J. Ferris and W.D. Parsons, apparently new members, gave talks, as did the honored E.L. Hedstrom around the theme, "My house shall be called the house of prayer."[148]

In return, the Michigan Street Baptist Church agreed to deed its property to the Buffalo Baptist Union, to maintain at least seven active members, and to pay at least $50.00 per year

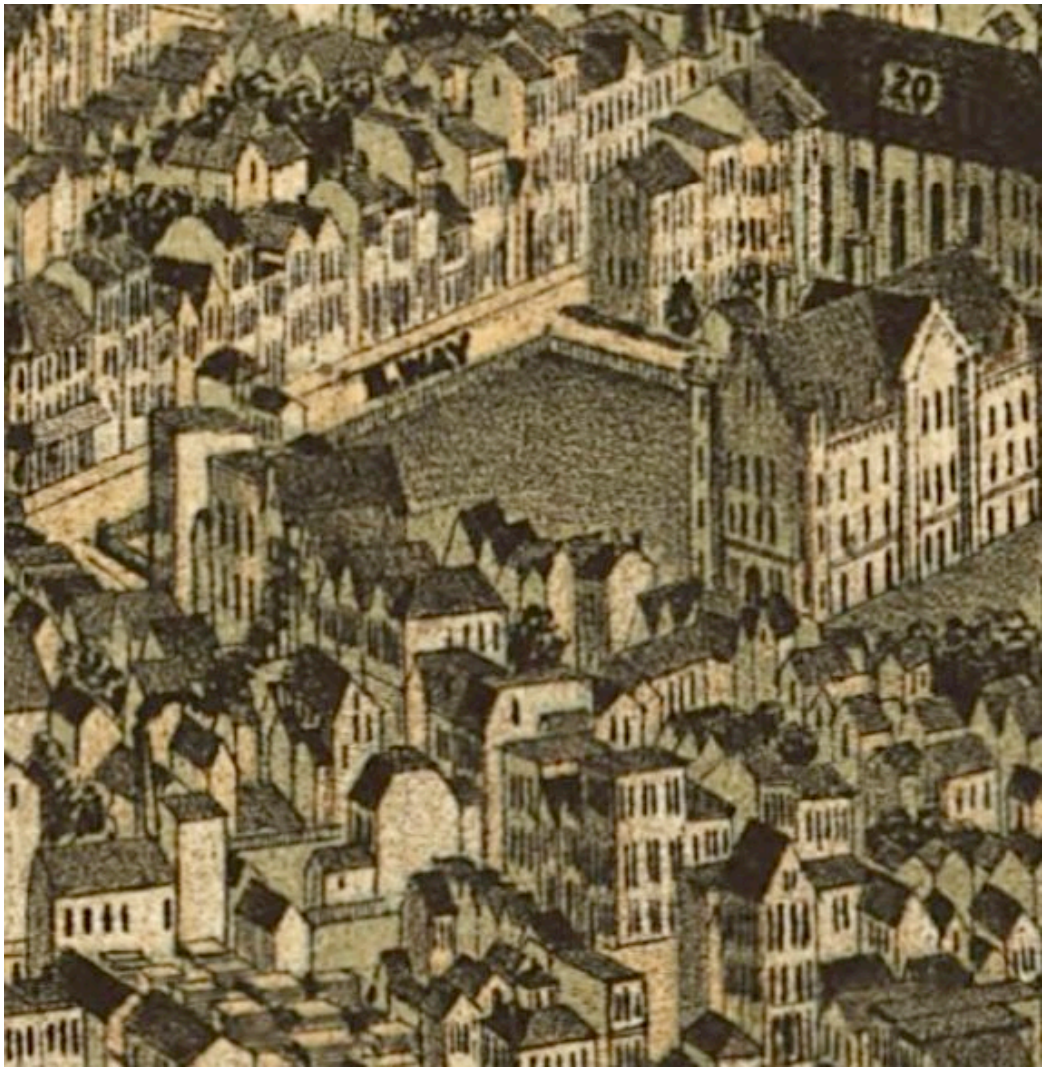


Figure 1.16: Detail of bird's-eye view *City of Buffalo, 1880* (Buffalo: E.H. Hutchinson, 1880). Although the block of buildings that includes the church is visible, it is difficult to pick out the exact structure. The church appears to be the fourth from the intersection of Michigan Street and Broadway (at the center left of the image). The large structure at the right side of the image is the Broadway Arsenal built in 1858.

[147] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 8.

[148] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 9

toward expenses. The Union agreed to help pay interest and taxes, make needed repairs, and maintain regular worship services. They recorded this transaction on May 6, 1887, and it remained in effect until 1922.[149]

In 1886 and afterward, the Buffalo Baptist Union supplied coal for heating. In February 1886, they found a new minister. Rev. Holland Powell, born enslaved in Virginia, came to the Michigan Street Baptist Church in February 1886 and stayed for four years. Holland seemed like a miracle worker. He added new members to the church, raised $800 toward paying off the debt, and put in a baptismal pool. Always before, members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church had been baptized in one of the other Baptist churches or in the cold water of Lake Erie.[150]

When Rev. Powell returned to Richmond, Virginia, in 1890, he recommended Rev. A.C. Quarles to replace him. Rev. Quarles stayed two years, when the Buffalo Baptist Union and the Michigan Street Baptist Church again had to find a new minister.

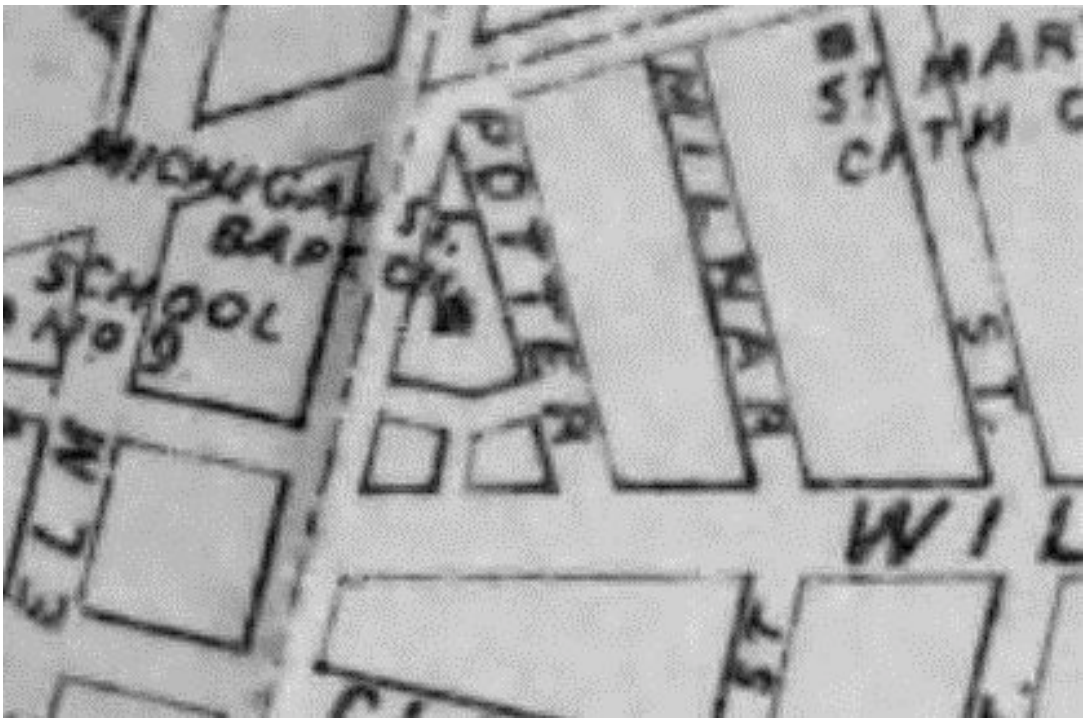


Figure 1.17: Detail of "City of Buffalo," *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Erie County, N.Y., from actual surveys* (New York: F.W. Beers, 1880), indicating "Michigan St. Bapt. Ch".

[149] "Quit Claim Deed," Liber 526, 161, Erie County Clerk's Office; Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Buffalo Baptist Union, May 5, 1922, Nash Papers, Buffalo State.

[150] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 9.

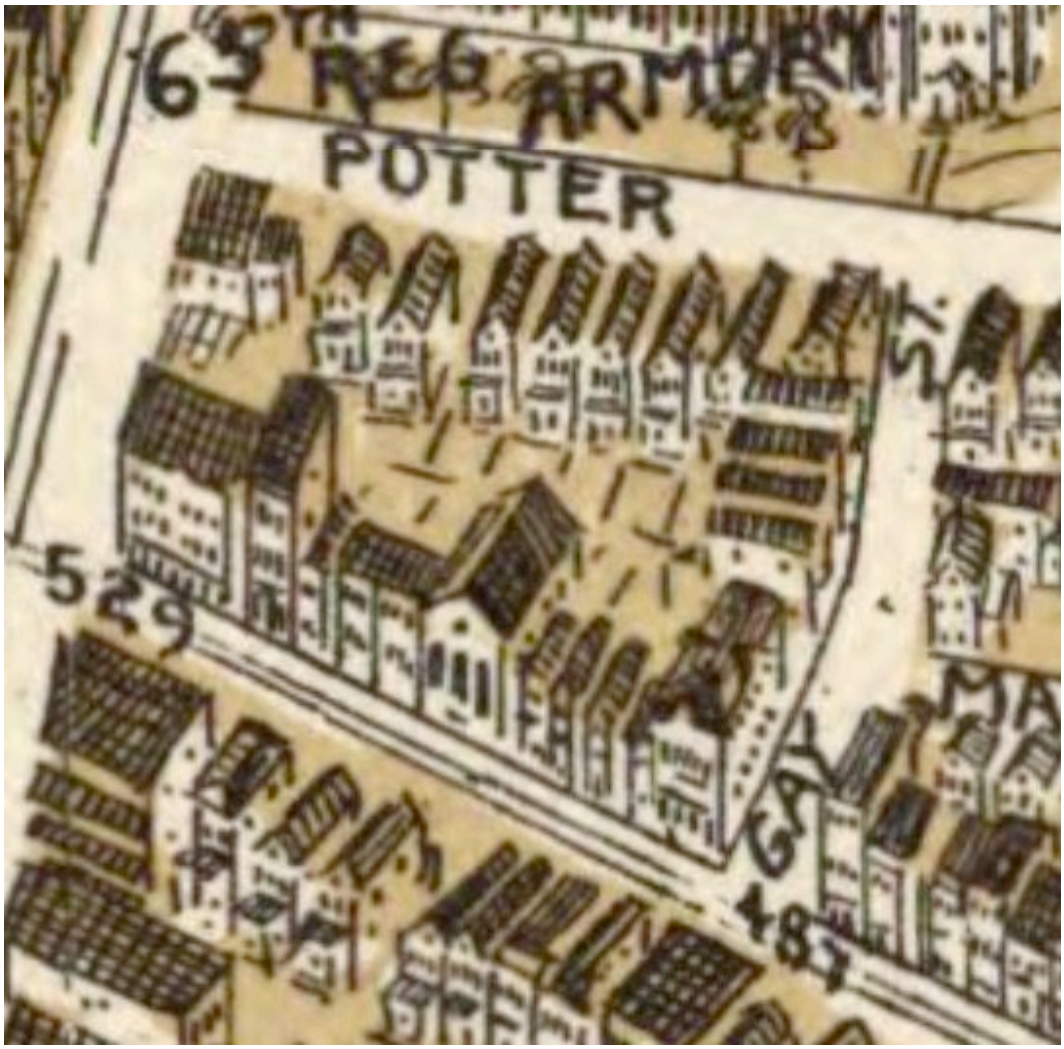


Figure 1.18: Detail of bird's-eye view of Buffalo in 1902. Intersection of Broadway and Michigan Avenue at middle left of the image. Note Michigan Street Baptist Church at center with gable roof and small round window in gable. "Buffalo, Erie Co., New York" (Landis and Alsop, 1902). Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.

This time, they looked for a younger person, someone who could represent a new generation. They found one in a young man, only twenty-four years old, J. Edward Nash. Nash was just graduating from Wayland Seminary, established in Washington, D.C., by the American Baptist Home Missionary Society in 1866. It was named after the abolitionist president of Brown College, Francis Wayland. Students began to attend Wayland Seminary in 1876. In 1899, Virginia Union University formed from a merger of Wayland Seminary with Richmond Theological Seminary, Hartshorn Memorial Women's College, and Storer University. Well-known African American leaders attended Wayland College. Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee Institute, was a student in 1878-79. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., who became pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, the largest Protestant congregation in the country, graduated in 1892, a classmate of a young man named J. Edward Nash.[151]

[151] Raymond Hylton, "University History," Virginia Union University. www.vuu.edu/about_vuu/history.aspx.

a. African Americans, Progressivism, and The Social Gospel

Between 1890 and 1920, U.S. reformers reacted to the vast extremes of wealth created by the industrial revolution. They created the new profession of social work to ease harsh working and living conditions, especially for immigrants and women workers in urban areas. Notably, this progressive movement enlisted support from both women—who often led in the creation of settlement houses and reform organizations—and men, who helped carry these values into the political realm. Many of these reformers were motivated by religious values. Many churches adopted an activist stance, often called the Social Gospel. Under Rev. J. Edward Nash, the Michigan Street Baptist Church navigated the changing environment relating to race, sex, and poverty, creating a balance between spiritual depth and social activism.

By 1900, African Americans were only thirty-five years away from slavery. Particularly in the South but to some extent throughout the nation, the 1890-1920 period became known as the nadir of race relations in the U.S., defined in part by the Supreme Court's ruling in the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that facilities, including schools, could be "separate but equal." A significant number of African Americans, however, had graduated from college, and this group—whom W.EB. Dubois called the "talented tenth"—became a leading force in social reform.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Buffalo was poised for vast growth. As a railroad center, port city, and producer of grain and steel, Buffalo had become the eighth largest city in the U.S. Its population numbered 255,664 in 1890, 352,387 in 1900, and 506,775 in 1920 (compared to 261,310 in 2010). African Americans made up only 2000 (.5 percent) of Buffalo's population in 1900 and only 1773 in 1910. By 1920, however, Buffalo had become the destination for African Americans who migrated from the South to better jobs and living conditions in northern cities, in what became known as the Great Migration. Buffalo's African American population doubled by 1920 to 4511 people (still only .9 percent of the total population). [152]

The Michigan Street Baptist Church took an active role in shaping the emerging Progressive movement in Buffalo and the nation. Black women, in particular, became well-organized through the National Association of Colored Women (with its local affiliate, the Phyllis Wheatley Club). Two people in particular, Rev. J. Edward Nash and Mary Burnett Talbert, connected the MSBC to local, national, and international reform movements.

b. J. Edward Nash and Mary Burnett Talbert

J. Edward Nash was only twenty-four years old when he accepted the call to the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Born in Virginia, two years after the Civil War, of parents who had been enslaved, he began working at the age of seven, tending cattle and then working as "a boatman, farmhand, blacksmith, laborer, mason, and teamster." A visit to a Salvation Army meeting convinced him to save his money for seminary tuition. In coming to Buffalo, Rev. Nash followed the path of several earlier ministers of the MSBC who were also Virginia natives. Although "a slender youth with a wealth of hair," he seemed to possess "superior qualifications." The Missionary Committee of the Buffalo Baptist Union decided to give him a three months' probationary appointment.

[152] The Circle Association, "African American History of Western New York State," http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny.html

Then they presented to the Michigan Street Baptist Church their new pastor, "for better or for worse," noted Mary Talbert in 1908.[153]

When the young Rev. Nash arrived in Buffalo, women in the church thought he needed help in choosing a wardrobe appropriate to a minister. They found a tailor who made him a black suit, complete with "a collar which buttoned in the back and a coat buttoned to the neck." Although it was far too big for him, he wore it anyway, assured by his congregation that he would grow to fit it. Indeed he did.[154]

J. Edward Nash arrived at the Michigan Street Baptist Church when it had thirty-four members, with a stable lay leadership. For several years after Rev. Nash's arrival, Benjamin Wright and F.M. Tarry were deacons, and Florence Linza was clerk.[155]

28TH ANNIVERSARY PROGRAMME
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE ANNIVERSARY CLUB
1892
1920
REV. J. EDWARD NASH, D. D.
TWENTY EIGHT YEARS OF SERVICE AS PASTOR OF
THE MICHIGAN AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH,
BUFFALO, N. Y.

Figure 1.19: Rev. J. Edward Nash, about 1920. From the 28th Anniversary Programme. From African American Vertical File / Buffalo and Erie Co. Public Library.

Among these church members were two brothers, William and Robert Talbert, grandsons of the legendary Peyton Harris, sons of Harris's daughter, Anna, who had married William Talbert. As described by Lillian Serece Williams in *Strangers in the Land of Paradise*, William Talbert grew up next door to the Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo, surrounded by loving family, friends, and church members. According to his diary, he participated in a wide variety of activities common to middle class teenagers in that time and place.[156]

In 1891, William Talbert married Mary Burnett. In Buffalo, Mary Talbert became a force in the Michigan Street Baptist Church, in Buffalo, and in the nation, "the most famous black woman in America," thought Mary White Ovington, one of her co-workers. She worked against racism in all its forms and for the rights of African Americans and women. From her protest against an exhibit of African Americans at the Pan-American Exposition to her work with the National Association of Colored Women, to her preservation of Frederick Douglass's home in Anacostia, to her affiliation with the Niagara Movement, the NAACP, the international

[153] "Dr. Nash Quits Sickbed to Mark 50 Years as Baptist Pastor," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 20, 1942, in files of Buffalo History Museum; *Talbert*, 10.

[154] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 11.

[155] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 11.

[156] Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: Creation of an African American Community in Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940* (Indiana University Press, 2000).

peace campaign, and the Anti-lynching Crusaders, she was a whirlwind in her work for justice. The basis of her work and her life—from which she received energy to move into a national arena, was the Michigan Street Baptist Church. By any measure, she became its most famous member.[157]

Figure 1.20: Portrait of Mary Burnett Talbert. http://buffaloah.com/h/tal/source/3.html

Born Mary Burnett in Oberlin, Ohio, on September 18, 1866. She and her sister Harriet Burnett grew up in Oberlin, with parents Cornelius and Caroline Burnett, both born in North Carolina. In 1886, when Mary Burnett was only nineteen years old, she graduated from Oberlin College, the only African American in her class, with a literary degree. She moved to Little Rock, Arkansas, to teach at Bethel University. In January 1887, she became assistant principal in a high school, the first black principal in the state of Arkansas.

We do not know how Mary Burnett met William Talbert, a Buffalo bookkeeper and realtor, but they married on September 8, 1891, when Mary Talbert was twenty-five years old. Mary Burnett Talbert moved to Buffalo, along with her sister Harriet, who married William's brother Robert. In 1892, their only child, daughter Sarah May, was born. In 1900, William H. Talbert and Mary B. Talbert lived with their daughter and Mary's mother Caroline Burnett. Sarah May later attended the New England School of Music and became a pianist and composer.[158]

Mary Burnett Talbert arrived in the Michigan Street Baptist Church just a year before the new pastor, J. Edward Nash. In 1908, Mary Talbert described the interior of the church in detail, as it looked when both she and Rev. Nash first arrived:

> The straight back seats which Deacon Harris had put in two years ago [1890] were still there. On either side were two coal stoves, not mates, but noted as much for giving out gas as heat.
>
> The large windows in front were of plain glass, painted white. No cushions were upon the seats, for that was a luxury unneeded. A small organ in the corner, opposite to the side which had been known as the Amen corner, furnished the music. One large chandelier furnished light for the church; an additional light for the pulpit was to be had from a well polished oil lamp.[159]

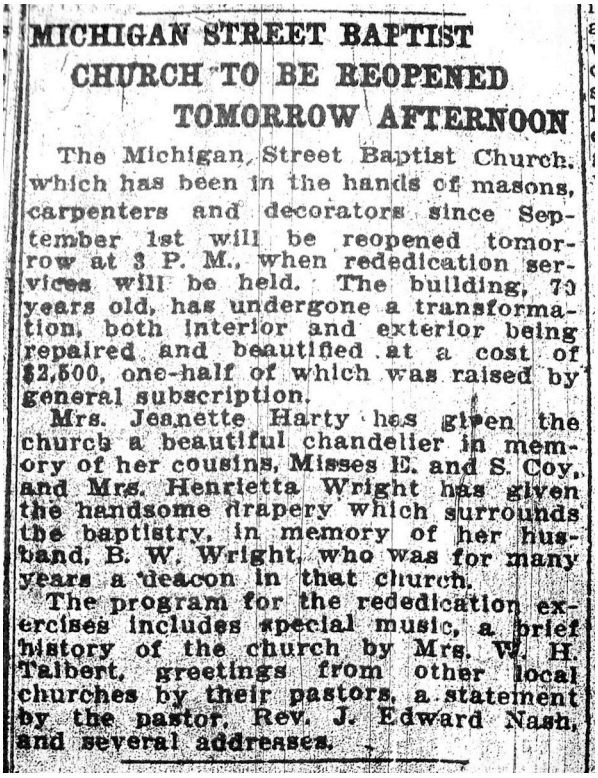
[157] Lillian Serece Williams, "Mary Talbert," in Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (Carlson, 2003). 802, 850, 1138.

[158] U.S. Census, 1900.

[159] Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908," American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo History Museum, 10.

Rev. J. Edward Nash and Mary Burnett Talbert represented a new generation of African Americans born after the end of slavery. College-educated and effective writers, speakers, and organizers, they brought both passion and skills in working within the African American community and in the larger world. Both came to the Michigan Street Baptist Church in their mid-twenties and reached mature adulthood in the Michigan Street Baptist Church in the 1890s. Both would be giants in their chosen work—Rev. Nash as a major leader in Buffalo, and Mary Talbert as a leader not only in Buffalo but in the nation. Nash became perhaps the most important spokesperson for African Americans in Buffalo, a major leader both of Baptists and African Americans until his death in 1953. Talbert became a well-known intellectual, reformer, and organizer not only in Buffalo but in the whole country.

As Terrence Henry has argued, Rev. Nash came to the Michigan Street Baptist Church at a time when African American churches and the country as a whole were in transition from a focus on other-worldly goals to a new emphasis on combining spiritual values with social, economic, and political advancement on this earth. The Social Gospel, prominent in Protestant churches at the end of the nineteenth century, was a major source of what would become known as Progressive reform. Rev. Nash used his sermons to steer his congregation successfully through this transition. "His sermons," noted Henry, "were the heart that gave life to every effort the congregation undertook." Rev. Nash led a spiritual community, but it was also part of "a movement for liberty and equality." The church was, in fact, the most effective organization for African American leadership in social reform. And "the people of this congregation needed exactly what Nash provided . . . someone to ease the church into the twentieth century and maintain its spiritual ideals in the face of modern issues and social complexities."[160]



MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH TO BE REOPENED TOMORROW AFTERNOON

The Michigan Street Baptist Church, which has been in the hands of masons, carpenters and decorators since September 1st will be reopened tomorrow at 3 P. M., when rededication services will be held. The building, 70 years old, has undergone a transformation, both interior and exterior being repaired and beautified at a cost of $2,500, one-half of which was raised by general subscription.

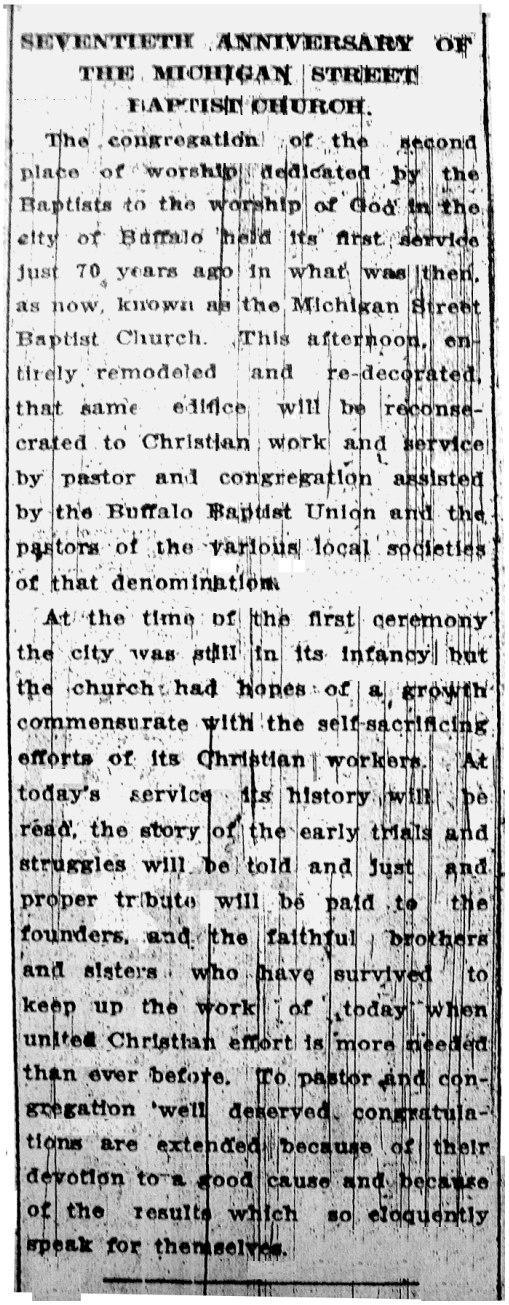
Mrs. Jeanette Harty has given the church a beautiful chandelier in memory of her cousins, Misses E. and S. Coy, and Mrs. Henrietta Wright has given the handsome drapery which surrounds the baptistry, in memory of her husband, B. W. Wright, who was for many years a deacon in that church.

The program for the rededication exercises includes special music, a brief history of the church by Mrs. W. H. Talbert, greetings from other local churches by their pastors, a statement by the pastor, Rev. J. Edward Nash, and several addresses.

Figure 1.21: *Buffalo Times* newspaper article, "Michigan Street Baptist Church to be Reopened Tomorrow Afternoon." December 26, 1908, page 6. From the Collection of the Buffalo History Museum.

In 1908, during the second decade of Rev. Nash's tenure, the church experienced special meetings in March, which they called "a blessing." The Sunday School and Young People's Society were "very helpful in their service." But the big news was four months of renovation, in time to celebrate the seventieth anniversary of the church's founding. Beginning on September 1, "masons, carpenters, and decorators" created "a

[160] Terrence Henry, *Selected Sermons of Rev. J. Edward Nash, Sr., Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1898-99* (Buffalo: Monroe Fordham Regional History Center, State University of New York College at Buffalo, [2011], 1-9.



SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH.

The congregation of the second place of worship dedicated by the Baptists to the worship of God in the city of Buffalo held its first service just 70 years ago in what was then, as now, known as the Michigan Street Baptist Church. This afternoon, entirely remodeled and re-decorated, that same edifice will be reconsecrated to Christian work and service by pastor and congregation assisted by the Buffalo Baptist Union and the pastors of the various local societies of that denomination.

At the time of the first ceremony the city was still in its infancy but the church had hopes of a growth commensurate with the self-sacrificing efforts of its Christian workers. At today's service its history will be read, the story of the early trials and struggles will be told and just and proper tribute will be paid to the founders, and the faithful brothers and sisters who have survived to keep up the work of today when united Christian effort is more needed than ever before. To pastor and congregation 'well deserved congratulations are extended because of their devotion to a good cause and because of the results which so eloquently speak for themselves.

Figure 1.22: *Buffalo Times* newspaper article "Seventieth Anniversary of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" December 27, 1908, page 32.

transformation" in the building, "both interior and exterior being repaired and beautified at a cost of $2500, one-half of which was raised by general subscription."

Jeannette Harty gave a new chandelier in memory of her cousins, E. and S. Coy, and Henrietta Wright gave "the handsome drapery which surrounds the baptistery," in honor of her husband B.W. Wright, who had been a long-time deacon. The baptistery itself was an extraordinary new addition to the East, designed by Buffalo architect and fellow Baptist, John H. Coxhead. Renovations in the church, reflected Mary Talbert, made this "the sweetest and most attractive spot this side of heaven."[161]

Rev. Nash and other dignitaries from the Buffalo Baptist Union and sister churches spoke at the dedication on December 27. But the featured speaker was Mary Talbert, who gave a history of the church, based in part on Buffalo Baptist Association annual reports, in part on Mary Talbert's own recollections, and in part on the memories of Sister Emma Coy, who most likely had escaped from slavery in Virginia to join the church about 1842. She and her sister Sarah remained members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church all their lives. Although Emma died in 1905, Mary Talbert had recorded her stories.[162]

September 1910, the church reported with pleasure to the Buffalo Baptist Association that "the debt for repairs and alterations amounting to $3,167.46 has been all paid. So we are glad that [we are] out of debt, at peace among ourselves and full of hope we can celebrate with you the 100th anniversary of our Association." This was the building, with all its renovations—including the chandelier and draperies for the baptistery—that hosted a wide variety of worship services, programs, speakers, and concerts in the coming years.[163]

In 1918, however, disaster struck. A fire broke out in the sanctuary on January 27, 1918. Meeting temporarily in the Vine Street A.M.E. Church, the Michigan Street Baptist Church made "extensive repairs and improvements" in its own building, "including New Ceiling, New Piano and decorations in our Sunday School room, New Hardwood

[161] "Michigan Street Baptist Church to Be Re-opened Tomorrow Afternoon," *Buffalo Times*, Dec. 26, 1908; *New York Age,* December 24, 1908. *Minutes of the Ninety-eighth Annual Meeting of the Buffalo Baptist Association Held at East Aurora, N.Y. Thursday and Friday, September 24 and 25* (1908), 29.

[162] Manuscript essay, "Written and read by Mrs. William H. Talbert at the re-opening of the Church, December 27, 1908," American Baptist Historical Society, copy in BECHS.

[163] *Buffalo Baptist Association*, *Minutes of the Ninety-Ninth Annual Session, Held with the Church at Arcade, Sept. 31 and Oct. 1, 1909*, 32; *Buffalo Baptist Association*, *Minutes of the One Hundredth Annual Session, held with the Prospect Ave. Church at Buffalo, September 29 and 30, 1910*, 22.

Floor, Choir Loft, New Piano, New Organ, and complete decorations in our audience room have been made by the Buffalo Baptist Union and ourselves," buying their new furnishings locally from Buffalo department store Adam, Meldrum, and Anderson. "The church and lecture room in their new dress of paint and varnish are easily one of the handsomest in this part of the state," reported the *New York Age*.[164]

On April 21, 1918, the church celebrated its re-opening. A "full crowd" heard "a fine sacred concert and a special sermon by . . . Nash." At the business meeting, members subscribed $900 to help pay for the $3500 cost of the work, half of which came from insurance. The church could report with pride to the Buffalo Baptist Association that "everything is in better shape now than it was before the fire."[165]

By 1922, the Michigan Street Baptist Church felt strong enough to cut its financial ties to the Buffalo Baptist Union. Rev. Nash wrote to the Union on May 5, 1922. His letter is worth quoting extensively, since it outlines part of the history of the church:

> Dear Brethren: --
>
> We, the Second Baptist Society of Buffalo, known as the Michigan Ave. Baptist Church, 36 years ago entered into an agreement with you, in which the title of our Church property was conveyed, by a Quit Claim Deed, to you; and in which you agreed to contribute annually to us, an amount of money mutually agreed upon, to aid us in keeping our Church open, and paying our running expenses.
>
> For more than 30 of the 36 years of our relationship, we have independently taken care of all our running expenses, and for more than 20 years we have paid the greater part of our Pastor's salary, which has run from $600 to $1500 annually. During this time, we have also made contributions to the greater missionary enterprises of the Northern Baptist Convention, including the Buffalo Baptist Union, running from $60 in 1892 to $700 in 1922.
>
> The relationship with you, into which we entered 36 years ago, has proved a great blessing to us. You took our hand and led us along when we were too weak to stand alone, and you have sustained us, not alone with your money, but with your love, kindness, and sympathy. For all of which we wish to express our sincere gratitude.[166]

As Rev. Nash tended his growing flock, one of his new converts was Mary Talbert. Mary Talbert "was always active in church life," remembered Rev. Nash. She was first an Episcopalian, then a Congregationalist. When she moved to Arkansas, she worked with the A.M.E. Church. And when she came to Buffalo, marrying into the Talbert family, who were all "staunch Baptists," she became a Baptist. Rev. Nash baptized her on Monday, September 3, 1893, and the following Sunday, he extended the hand of fellowship, welcoming her into the church. "Before becoming a member, she had been active in the councils and work of the church," remembered Rev. Nash. But after becoming a member, she worked even harder, as organist, Sunday School teacher,

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[164] [J. Edward Nash] invitation to opening and giving date of fire as January 27, 1918, April 12, 1918, Nash Papers, Buffalo State; *The New York Age,* 27 April 1918; J. Edward Nash to Rev. A.L. Wilson [pastor of the Vine Street A.M.E. Church], May 16, 1918; George A. Jackson to J. Edward Nash, enclosing church inventory, April 8, 1918; Receipt from AMA for replacement furnishings, July 30, 1918.

[165] *Buffalo Baptist Association*, *Minutes of the One Hundred Eighth Annual Session, First Baptist Church, Tonawanda, N.Y., Sept. 26th and 27th, 1918*, 22. For more details, see section on church structure.

[166] Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Buffalo Baptist Union, May 5, 1922, Nash Papers, Buffalo State.

treasurer, organizer of the Christian Culture Congress, and trustee, "representing the church in various conventions all over the country." [167]

Mary Talbert's skills within the church lay in education, organizing, and historical documentation. She always viewed the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a basis for strengthening the larger African American community and for making a contribution to social change. She began this career path about 1897, when she was appointed to a Buffalo city committee for the suppression of vice. This group arranged that a woman police officer would be at the station every day to deal with women arrested for prostitution or other crimes.[168]

She also worked with the Phyllis Wheatley Club. Organized in 1899, it was founded, noted Talbert, "'"solely for the betterment of our race and the uplifting of our fallen women in Buffalo." It was a "working club," promoting social reform, especially for the rights of mothers and children. It became part of the National Association of Colored Women, a national organization of African American women's clubs, organized in 1896.

Figure 1.23: "Phyllis Wheatley Club, Buffalo, New York" between 1911 and 1923, possibly 1913. Photographed in front of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Image shows, seated (left to right): Mrs. Powell, unknown, Mrs. Saunders, Penolia McAden. Standing (left to right): unknown, Bette S. Anderson, Amelia Grace Anderson, Mary B. Talbert, Frances Nash, unknown, unknown, Theresa G. Anderson, Beatrice Chase, and Mrs. Chase. From the Library of Congress, Nannie Helen Burroughs Collection.

In 1901, the Phyllis Wheatley Club hosted the national conference of the Phyllis Wheatley clubs, partly so that attendees could also visit the Pan-American Exposition and Niagara Falls. The group met in the Michigan Street Baptist Church, where Rev. J. Edward Nash "commended the great work that is being done by the women of America" as they worked "for the elevation of the people, be they of whatever color, race, or creed." The Michigan Street Baptist Church choir sang "Bringing in the Sheaves," joined by the whole audience. Several women also spoke, most notably Mary

[167] J. Edward Nash to Mrs. S.W. Layton, January 9, 1924.

[168] Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves, 1894-1994* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), 29

Church Terrell. Many of the attendees stayed with Mary Talbert, two doors from the church.[169]

The Phyllis Wheatley Club survived into the mid-1970s. Today, the Buffalo Chapter of the National Federation of Women's Clubs is called the Mary B. Talbert Civic and Cultural Club.

Mary Talbert had once been a history teacher, and she kept a strong sense of historical context all of her life. With the Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs, she worked closely with Harriet Tubman, visiting her, raising money to support her in the Home for the Aged, and funding her gravestone. In 1937, after Mary Talbert's death, the Federation replaced Tubman's original gravestone with the one that still stands there today. [170]

In 1901, she organized the Christian Culture Congress of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. The Christian Culture Congress reached out to the larger world beyond the walls of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. It brought concerns of African American rights and women's rights into the lives of local people. Although it apparently met at the Michigan Street Baptist Church, it was not a religious group *per se*, but a literary society and forum for discussion of major social issues relating to race and equality. It included many local residents, who, suggested several sources, invited such national leaders as W.E.B. DuBois, Nannie Helen Burroughs, and Mary Church Terrell to speak at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. On November 12, 1905, for example, it issued a Proclamation honoring Albion W. Tourgee, a national African American leader, at his death, for his "constant, dignified, and unselfish endeavor" in working to elevate the status of Negroes in America. True to Mary Talbert's vision as a historian, the group pledged "as part of the education of our children and those that come after us, the deeds, work, and effort put forth by our faithful friend, shall be told them and handed down from generation to succeeding generation."[171]

In 1906, the Christian Culture Congress held a typical meeting, with Miss G. Baldwin, assistant principal of a teacher training school, reading a paper on the "Power of Choice," and the announcement of four prizes to be awarded to the best essays on Abraham Lincoln. One meeting of the Christian Culture Congress was organized in conjunction with the Buffalo branch of the NAACP, held in the MSBC on March 21, 1915, and presided over by Mary Talbert. Rev. Houghton Fosbroke addressed an audience of four hundred, asserting, "it is not the Negro who needs educating but the white man who is ignorant of the wrong that has been done the colored race."[172]

Mary Talbert became involved with other organizations in Buffalo, too. She became the first Worthy Matron of Buffalo's Naomi Chapter of the order of the Eastern Star. She

[169] "The City of Conventions," *The Colored American*, July 13, 1901.

[170] Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2004).

[171] Lillian Williams, "Mary Morris Burnett Talbert" in Jessie Carney Smith, Ed., *Notable Black American Women* (Gale Research Publishers: Detroit, 1992), 1095-1101; "Proclamation, the Christian Culture Congress of the Michigan Street Baptist church," November 12, 1905," history.nnyln.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/NYCCH/id/30. Nash Papers have much information on the work of the Christian Culture Congress; *Cleveland American.*

[172] *The Crisis,* Vol. 10 (June 1915), 85, *http*://books.google.com/books?id=T1oEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA85&lpg=PA85&dq=%22christian+culture+congress%22&source=bl&ots=p5D3LEh6W6&sig=pIg7bMtu6wHW0wQgQNW8JsuyArg&hl=en&sa=X&ei=zGb4UP_lNNKTqwGe94H4Dw&ved=0CDYQ6AEwAzgK#v=onepage&q=%22christian%20culture%20congress%22&f=false

was a member of the American Association of University Women. Ever the teacher, and mindful of the importance of education for youth, Mary Talbert also hosted regular meetings for groups of teenagers, whom she invited into her home on Friday afternoons to discuss African American issues, to talk about morals and manners, and to hold social events.

With a strong base in these local organizations, Mary Talbert reached out in every way that she could to demand equal rights for people of color. One of the most visible actions involved a public protest against the African American exhibit at the Pan American Exposition, held in Buffalo in 1901. As historian Barbara Seals Nevergold noted, on November 11, 1900, more than two hundred people attended an "enthusiastic meeting," organized by the Phyllis Wheatley Club at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Mary Talbert gave the keynote address: "Why the Afro-American Should be Represented in the Pan American Exposition." The meeting endorsed her two proposals: 1) bring the Negro exhibit then on display at the Paris Exposition to Buffalo, and 2) appoint a black commissioner to represent the interest of African Americans in the exposition. African Americans, following a pattern they had established at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, had tried as early as 1899 to have a voice in the Pan-American Exposition. Now they were taking matters into their own hands. Two days after this meeting, the Buffalo *Courier* reported that "the Phyllis Wheatley Club of colored women of this city has begun active preparations for a Pan American exhibit which will be devoted entirely to the colored race." They successfully advocated use of the Negro Exhibition then on display in Paris. On May 11, 1901, the *Courier* announced "the exhibit showing the development of the Negro race since the date of Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, will be shown here as it was in Paris." The souvenir pamphlet of the exhibit carried a photograph of James Ross, supervisor of the exhibit, as well as one of Rev. J. Edward Nash.[173]

The Exposition also established a "Committee of Comfort," designed to find housing in homes of local African Americans for African American visitors to the Exposition. Mary Talbert was a member of this committee, and likely many members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church shared their homes. Among the visitors was Booker T. Washington, perhaps the best-known African American leader in the country after the death of Frederick Douglass in 1895.[174]

During the Exposition itself, the National Association of Colored Women held its third biennial convention in Buffalo. The week before the convention, Mary Church Terrell spoke at a meeting of the Phyllis Wheatley Club, held in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. At the convention itself, Mary Talbert gave a paper on "Reasons for Placing Correct Literature Before Our Children."[175]

In 1905, Mary and William Talbert—and by extension the Michigan Street Baptist Church—hosted a meeting that would echo into history as the beginning of the Niagara

[173] Barbara A. Seals Nevergold, "Doing the Pan": the African-American Experience at the Pan-American Exposition, 1901," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 28.1 (January 2004).

[174] Barbara A. Seals Nevergold, "Doing the Pan": the African-American Experience at the Pan-American Exposition, 1901," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 28.1 (January 2004).

[175] Barbara A. Seals Nevergold, "Doing the Pan": the African-American Experience at the Pan-American Exposition, 1901," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 28.1 (January 2004).

Movement. On June 13, 1905, W.E.B. DuBois, noted African American author and intellectual, wrote to William Talbert, asking him to find a suitable place—not expensive, perhaps in the country—to hold an organizational meeting. On the first day, July 11, the Talberts hosted twenty-nine African American men from eighteen different states at their home at 521 Michigan Street. As historians Lopez D Matthews and Anita Nahal note, on July 12, the Buffalo *Enquirer,* reported, "Colored men from eighteen states held a national conference at No. 521 Michigan Street [the Talbert home] yesterday." Similar notices appeared in the Buffalo *Commercial* and the Buffalo *Daily*. The next day, the group moved to the Erie Beach Hotel, across the river in Canada, for the rest of the meeting on July 12-15, 1905. The official program and list of delegates noted that the meeting was held in "Erie Beach Hotel, Ontario, and 521 Michigan Street, Buffalo.[176]

Spearheaded by W.E.B. DuBois, the Niagara Movement argued for full equality for African Americans as citizens of the U.S. Notes prepared as "A Proposed Platform for the Conference at Buffalo," suggested that the Niagara Movement stood for eight points: "1) Freedom of speech and criticism; 2) Freedom of an unsubsidized Press; 3) Full manhood suffrage . . .; 4) The abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color; 5) The recognition of the principal of human brotherhood as a practical present creed; 6) The recognition of the highest and best human training as the monopoly of no class or race; 7) A belief in the dignity of human toil; 8) United effort to realize these ideals under a leadership of courage and ideals."[177]

DuBois's agenda challenged Booker T. Washington's advice, articulated most famously in his Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895, that African Americans should "cast down your bucket where you are," and adopt a policy of conciliation and accommodation. Talbert and J. Edward Nash knew both DuBois and Washington, founder and head of Tuskegee Institute, who was then perhaps the best-known African American leader in the country. Washington hoped that Mary Talbert would tell him what had happened at the meeting at her home, but we have no evidence that she did so.

The organizing meeting of the Niagara Movement included no women. By 1906, however, it was clear that DuBois (unlike his co-worker William Monroe Trotter) welcomed women as members, workers, and sympathizers. A policy statement entitled "Women and the Niagara Movement" asserted that "the Niagara Movement welcomes to full membership on invitation both men and women." We have no evidence that either Mary B. Talbert or William Talbert worked closely with the Niagara Movement, however, after its initial meeting.[178]

In 1910, Booker T. Washington toured the country, rallying his supporters in opposition to the more radical ideas of the new NAACP. Rev. Nash had met Booker T. Washington as early as 1900, when the Independent Club invited Rev. Nash as a guest of honor to one of Washington's speeches. Rev. Nash and the local chapter of the

[176] Lopez D. Matthews and Anita Nahal, "African American Women and the Niagara Movement, 1905-1909," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 32:2 (July 2008); Cynthia Van Ness, "Buffalo Hotels and the Niagara Movement: New Evidence Refutes and Old Legend," *Western New York Heritage Magazine* 13:4 (Winter 2011), 18-23; "Uncrowned Queens Niagara Movement Centennial, Niagara Movement: A Mystery Solved!" (2005), http://web.archive.org/web/20080829140429/http://wings.buffalo.edu/uncrownedqueens/C/history/niag_mov/mystery_solved.html.

[177] "A Proposed Platform for the Conference at Buffalo," [1905], DuBois Papers, University of Massachusetts, 312.2.839-01-15-1.

[178] "Women and the Niagara Movement, Circular No. 2," DuBois Papers, University of Massachusetts, 1906.1.312.2.839-02-12.

Negro Business League were Washington's local contact. On March 10, 1910, the Rev. Nash introduced Washington as he spoke at the Michigan Street Baptist Church to "Afro-American Citizens of Buffalo." Later that evening, Washington gave a second address at Buffalo's Westminster Methodist Church, to "several hundred people," mostly European American, who listened to a talk which the *Buffalo Daily Courier* called "Only Hear Worst side, Never Best Says Negro Educator."[179]

In 1914, Rev. Nash made efforts to organize another group at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. The *Buffalo Express* reported on August 11, 1914, that preliminary efforts to create a "national organization for the uplift of the Negro" would be held at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. This group would be a biracial organization designed, reported Rev. Nash, to "encourage all efforts for the education of the negro [sic] and for securing to him of the full rights of citizenship in all the states. Prejudice would be removed by the cooperation of prominent white people," who "have been foremost in this worthy endeavor in this city." Such a group, Nash hoped, would be a model for other groups throughout the nation, to help anyone who suffered from "unjust discrimination." Further research is needed to suggest whether this was the beginning of the Buffalo chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.[180]

That same year, the "Woman Suffrage Headquarters," presumably maintained by the European American-dominated group, held a "free suffrage meeting" in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. On Sunday, November 2, [1913], Rev. J. Edward Nash presided over a "Free Suffrage Meeting," held at 4:00 p.m. in the church, sponsored by the Buffalo woman suffrage group. Mary B. Talbert spoke, along with lawyer Helen Z. M. Rodgers and Mrs. Frank J. Shuler, leader of the Eighth Judicial District.[181]

At the same time that Rev. Nash continued to reach out beyond the boundaries of his church to right the wrongs of prejudice and discrimination in Buffalo, he continued his commitment to the Buffalo Baptist Association. In 1910, Rev. John Naylor composed a manuscript "History of the Buffalo Baptist Association from 1840 to 1910." He singled out Rev. Nash as "steady strong & true for 18 years half of which time he has served as clerk of the Association."[182]

Mary Talbert became an early member of the Board and vice-president of the NAACP, organized in 1909 as successor to the Niagara Movement. She appeared regularly in the pages of *The Crisis*, the NAACP's national magazine. By 1912, *The Crisis* noted, "She has long been identified with every movement in Buffalo for the advancement of her race."[183]

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[179] Letters between Rev. Nash and Executive Committee of the Independent Club, December 19 and 21, 1900, as quote in Terrence Henry, *Sermons*, 6; "Program" and *Buffalo Daily Courier,* March 11, 1910, as noted in Monroe Fordham, "Nash House," www.nashhousemuseum.org/history.html; Felix Armfield, "J. Edward Nash and the MSBC," January 26, 2006.

[180] *Buffalo Express*, August 14, 1914.

[181] Poster, "Free Suffrage Meeting, Nov. 2nd [1913]," in Nash Papers.

[182] Rev. John Naylor, "History of the Buffalo Baptist Association from 1840 to 1910," unpublished manuscript, Buffalo History Museum.

[183] *The Crisis* 4:1 (May 1912), 39, http://books.google.com/books?id=G1oEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA39&lpg=PA39&dq=%22christian+culture+congress%22&source=bl&ots=ZHQ-dfuijV&sig=B5wkhEg-xf1_fY--

But Mary Talbert's organizing abilities were not to be limited to Buffalo alone. By 1912, Talbert was president of the Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs and a liaison between the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the European American dominated National Council of Women. The Empire State Federation of Women's Clubs held its fifth annual meeting on July 3-4, 1913, hosted by the Phyllis Wheatley Club at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. "The session was the most profitable as well as pleasant in the history of the organization. Questions of vital importance to the race were spiritedly discussed," noted *The New York Age*. Delegates took a stand in favor of woman suffrage and against smoking and the use of chewing gum by women and girls. "Too much cannot be said of Mrs. M.B. Talbert and those associated with her in the splendid entertainment of the Empire State Federation. Everywhere were heard expressions of gratitude for the splendid homes in which we found ourselves." That same year, the "Woman Suffrage Headquarters," presumably maintained by the European American-dominated group, held a "free suffrage meeting" in the MSBC.[184]

As Vice-President of the National Association of Colored Women in 1915, Mary Talbert wrote an article for *The Crisis* in which she argued that "It should not be necessary to struggle forever against popular prejudice, and with us as colored women, this struggle becomes two-fold, first because we are women and second, because we are colored women. Although some resistance is experienced in portions of our country against the ballot for women, I firmly believe that enlightened men, are now numerous enough everywhere to encourage this just privilege of the ballot for women, ignoring prejudice of all kinds." In 1916, after the death of Booker T. Washington, Talbert was one of fifty African American and European American leaders invited by the NAACP to the estate of Joel Springarn to focus on education, political freedom, and inter-racial communication.[185]

Mary Talbert's effectiveness reflected her remarkable personality, her "kind, thoughtful, generous nature," as co-worker Hallie Q. Brown remembered. "She did not hesitate to do the smallest deed to the humblest person." "Her personality was most charming, her smile an object of beauty. She possessed a ready and versatile tongue and pen. A letter from her was almost equal to a face to face conversation. She was at once graceful and gracious."[186]

Such effectiveness—in writing, speaking, and organizing—brought her to national prominence. In 1916, Mary Talbert began the first of two terms as President of the National Association of Colored Women, which lasted until 1920. As president, she took a strong stand for women's suffrage, working with other black suffragists such as Hester Jeffries of Rochester, to promote the Nineteenth Amendment. With the help of this group, New York State passed a state woman suffrage provision in 1917. When the

cFydeDhzAEY&hl=en&sa=X&ei=zGb4UP_lNNKTqwGe94H4Dw&ved=0CDgQ6AEwBDgK#v=onepage&q=%22christian%20culture%20congress%22&f=false

[184] *New York Age*, July 10, 1913; *Buffalo Morning Express*, c. 1913.

[185] *The Crisis* 4:1 (May 1912), 39, http://books.google.com/books?id=G1oEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA39&lpg=PA39&dq=%22christian+culture+congress%22&source=bl&ots=ZHQ-dfuijV&sig=B5wkhEg-xf1_fY--cFydeDhzAEY&hl=en&sa=X&ei=zGb4UP_lNNKTqwGe94H4Dw&ved=0CDgQ6AEwBDgK#v=onepage&q=%22christian%20culture%20congress%22&f=false

[186] Hallie Q. Brown, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (1926), reprint New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 216-219.

U.S. finally adopted women's suffrage on August 26, 1920, the new Nineteenth Amendment made no distinction on the basis of race.[187]

In February 1921, Mary White Ovington--European American feminist, social worker, and member of the NAACP--tried to get Mary Talbert as a speaker for the National Woman's Party. She recommended Mrs. Talbert as "able, liberal in thought, and perhaps the best-known colored woman in the United States today," "today the most distinguished colored woman speaker in the country." Alice Paul, head of the Woman's Party, refused, on the basis that Mary Talbert did not represent a feminist organization. No doubt Mary White Ovington and Mary Talbert were both shocked to hear this.[188]

While she was President of the National Association of Colored Women, Talbert also spearheaded a campaign to save Frederick Douglass's home, Cedar Hill, in Washington, D.C. She urged "patriotic, race-loving Negroes . . . to save and restore the home, in the same manner that white women saved the home of George Washington." In only two years, they paid off the mortgage—partly with pennies donated by school children--on the Douglass home and took over the board of the Frederick Douglass Memorial Home Association. We can "look up and point with pride to this the first great race shrine—redeemed by our people, for our people." It is "a hallowed spot where our boys and girls may gather during the years to come and receive hope and inspiration and encouragement to go forth like Douglass and fight to win." After Talbert's death, the National Association of Colored Women taxed each member five cents on behalf of the Douglass home and established the Mary Talbert Fund to maintain it.[189]

Also during her years as President of the National Association of Colored Women, Mary Talbert managed to spend several months in France, working as a canteen worker for African American troops. She may have followed several young men from the Michigan Street Baptist Church to France.[190]

Mary B. Talbert's career as a national African American leader formed the basis in 1920 for her attendance as a delegate from the U.S. at the International Congress of Women in Zurich, Switzerland, where she addressed an audience from thirty-three countries on discrimination against African American women in the U.S. She spoke widely in Europe and attended the Pan-African Conference in Paris. In 1921, she joined the newly organized International Council of Women of the Darker Races of the World. In 1922, Mary Talbert became the first woman to win the coveted NAACP Springarn Medal, "for continued service to women of color."[191]

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[187] Poster, "Free Suffrage Meeting, Nov. 2nd [1913]," in Nash Papers.

[188] *The Crisis* 4:1 (May 1912), 39, http://books.google.com/books?id=G1oEAAAAMBAJ&pg=PA39&lpg= PA39&dq= %22christian +culture+congress%22&source=bl&ots=ZHQ-dfuijV&sig=B5wkhEg-xf1_fY--cFydeDhzAEY&hl =en&sa=X&ei=zGb4UP_lNNKTqwGe94H4Dw&ved=0CDgQ6AEwBDgK#v=onepage&q=%22christian%20culture%20congress%22&f=false; Mary White Ovington to Lucy Burns, December 17, 1920; Mary White Ovington to Alice Paul, January 4, 1921.

[189]Joan Marie Johnson, "Ye Gave Them a Stone": African American Women's Clubs, the Frederick Douglass Home, and the Black Mammy Monument," *Journal of Women's History* 17:1 (2005), 62-86.

[190] Nash Papers contain several letters from young men serving in the armed forces from the Michigan Street Baptist Church to Rev. Nash.

[191] Cary D. Wintz, Paul Finkelman, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance* (Routledge, 2012); NAACP, "Springarn Medal Winners," www.naacp.org/pages/spingarn-medal-winners.

In 1920, after she left the presidency of the National Association of Colored Women, she became national director of the NAACP's anti-lynching crusade. The horrific lynching of Mary Turner, a young pregnant African American woman in rural Georgia in 1918, gave extra energy to anti-lynching reformers. The goal of the NAACP was to get congressional approval for the Dyer anti-lynching bill, introduced into Congress in 1921. Mary Talbert organized the Anti-Lynching Crusaders and crossed the country, raising money through her lectures. On November 22-23, 1922, they "startled the nation," as Talbert suggested, with their "SHAME OF AMERICA" advertisements in major national newspapers. "Do you know that the *United States* is the *Only Land on Earth* where human beings are *BURNED AT THE STAKE?"* they asked.[192]

The Crusaders did have an impact. James Weldon Johnson credited them with "the greatest single stroke of propaganda ever struck in behalf of justice for the Negro." Mary White Ovington told Talbert that the NAACP's work helped "cut the number of lynchings in half." But the work was exhausting. As historian Julie Buckner Armstrong noted, Mary Talbert's "final report records fourteen-hour days; 22,000 letters sent out to black women, 1,850 to white women, 35,000 pamphlets; 25,000 prayers; 78,000 buttons; and 72,500 releases to the foreign and domestic press."[193]

In January 1923, the Senate failed to ratify the Dyer bill, and Mary Talbert was devastated. "She realized her physical condition but was willing to lay down her life," noted Hallie Q. Brown. On June 10, she suffered a severe heart attack, and on October 15, she died. Mary White Ovington thought that Mary Talbert "literally gave [her life] to the cause of humanity and especially to the colored people suffering from danger and persecution." An editorial in the National Association of Colored Women's *National Notes*, entitled "The Cost of Leadership," put it more directly: In earlier days, "they took their leaders out on the hillsides and stoned them to death. In these days, we work them to death." Julie Buckner Armstrong agreed. "Like the soldiers" she worked for, wrote Armstrong, "Mary Talbert eventually sacrificed her life to create 'a fuller and truer meaning of democracy.'" Women in the anti-lynching crusade paid for the "Shame of America" advertisement, noted Armstrong. "Mary Talbert paid with her life." The Douglass home will be a monument to Mary Talbert, thought Hallie Q. Brown. Rev J. Edward Nash conducted Mary B. Talbert's funeral service at the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[194]

After the deaths of Mary and William Talbert, their daughter Sarah Talbert Keelan inherited the family home. On April 23, 1935, she received a building permit to "use the premises for a parking lot." On June 7, 1935, she received another permit to "place a steel gasoline tank, 550 gallons) on the lot. On June 19, 1946, owner Lester Gales received a building permit to demolish the building for $250.[195]

With Mary Talbert's death, the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, the nation, and the world lost a heroic figure, one whose life still echoes in our own time. Hallie Q. Brown suggested, "Let us join hands with renewed vigor and inspiration to carry on her work." In Buffalo and across the nation, Mary B. Talbert was memorialized in many

[192] Julie Buckner Armstrong, *Mary Turner and the Memory of Lynching* (University of George, 2012).

[193] Julie Buckner Armstrong, *Mary Turner and the Memory of Lynching* (University of George, 2012).

[194] Hallie Q. Brown, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (1926), reprint New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 218-219.

[195] Building permits 26853, 27042, and RO42898. Found by Cynthia Van Ness.

ways. In Buffalo, public housing on Clinton Street was called the Mary B. Talbert Mall. In 1974, that name was changed to the Frederick Douglass Towers by people who did not realize that Mary B. Talbert was African American. To carry on Talbert's name, Caroline B. Thomas organized the Mary B. Talbert Women's Club, which continues to work in Buffalo. The University of Buffalo has a Talbert Hall. In Cleveland, there is a Mary B. Talbert Home and Hospital. In Buffalo, Detroit, New Haven, and Gary, Indiana, local NAACP branches were named after her (now part of Cleveland Metropolitan Hospital). In 2005, Mary B. Talbert was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York.[196]

Figure 1.24: Portrait of Mary Burnett Talbert. Scott Eberle, *Second Looks: A Pictorial History of Buffalo and Erie County* (Buffalo: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1987) from the collection at the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

In 1922, the year before Mary Talbert's death, the Michigan Street Baptist Church celebrated Rev. J. Edward Nash's thirtieth anniversary. As a sign of their respect and admiration, they gave him a new Ford motor car. That automobile symbolized new paths forward. In many ways, the future for both the Michigan Street Baptist Church and Rev. J. Edward Nash would be a continuation of the pattern they had developed over the past thirty years-balancing spiritual groundedness with social action. In other ways, however, challenges would be different. Buffalo's growth coincided after 1915 with factors that pushed African Americans out of the South in what would become known as the Great Migration. "Our brethren continue to come into our city from the South," noted the report of the Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Buffalo Baptist Association in 1918. A month after Rev Nash's thirtieth anniversary celebration, he participated in an open air meeting at the corner of Michigan Avenue and Arsenal, reaching beyond the boundaries of the physical church to reach new immigrants on the street. The church had its work cut out for it in the 1920s and later, as it expanded its membership from a few dozen to more than five hundred people.[197]

[196] Hallie Q. Brown, *Homespun Heroines and Other Women of Distinction* (1926), reprint New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 218-219; Lillian Williams, "Mary Morris Burnett Talbert" in Jessie Carney Smith, Ed., *Notable Black American Women* (Gale Research Publishers: Detroit, 1992), 1095-1101; "Mary Burnett Talbert," National Women's Hall of Fame, www.greatwomen.org/component/fabrik/details/2/217; Conversation of Judith Wellman with Priscilla Hill, Secretary, Mary B. Talbert Women's Club, Buffalo, February 18, 2013.

[197] "Michigan Avenue," *Buffalo Baptist Association Minutes*, 1918, 22, and 1922, 48; *Buffalo American*, July 6, 1922.

4. The Great Migration, Depression, and World War: 1920-1950

Beginning in the late 19-teens, the Michigan Street Baptist Church's membership began to grow. By 1922, the congregation numbered between 250-300 people, three times the size of earlier congregations. These numbers came primarily from African Americans who had migrated from southern states—especially Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana--to Buffalo and other northern cities in what became known as the Great Migration (1910-1970). In 1918, the annual report of the Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Buffalo Baptist Association reflected the beginnings of this migration: "Our brethren continue to come into our city from the South," they reported. "This gives us a great opportunity for service. God is greatly blessing us in every way." As Lillian Serece Williams noted, however, in *Strangers in the Land of Paradise,* tensions between the old African American families and the newer immigrants continued to pose challenges for Buffalo African Americans for many years, as established residents felt both responsibility and for the newcomers and a sense of difference. Churches such as the Michigan Street Baptist Church became mediators and, with public schools, the major socializing institutions.[198]

Figure 1.26: Congregation of Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1932 at front entry. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., noted pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, at one time the largest Protestant congregation in the country, spoke in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Rev. Powell was "one of the foremost Negro clerics in the country," noted the *Buffalo Evening News* on June 20, 1932. Powell is pictured above on the sidewalk at center in front of stoop with gray hair and dark tie. Rev. Nash is to Powell's right. Rev. Powell lauded Rev. Nash as "a man of broad education, fine personality, large experience, and great spiritual gifts." From the Collection of Foit Albert Architects, image labeled "Book 1.4.jpg".

[198] *Buffalo Baptist Association*, *Minutes of the One Hundred Eighth Annual Session, First Baptist Church, Tonawanda, N.Y., Sept. 26th and 27th, 1918*, 22; Lillian Serece Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise* (Buffalo).

Ultimately, six million African Americans made this transition from the rural South to the urban North. In 1900, only 90 percent of African Americans still lived in the South. The African American population at that time was relatively stable in Buffalo but increased exponentially with migration from the South in the first half of the 20th century. By 1930, Buffalo's population numbered 573,076 and 2.4 percent of the total were African Americans. Thirteen thousand five hundred of these were newcomers, increasing to 3.1 percent of the total of 575,901 in 1940. When Buffalo reached the apex of its population in 1950 (580,132) African Americans made up 6.3 percent of the total. The proportion of African Americans in Buffalo continued to increase, until in 1990, they made up 30.7 percent of the 328,123 people in Buffalo.[199]

Figure 1.25: Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1942. Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., again preached at Michigan Street Baptist Church. Rev. Powell was also a former classmate of Rev. Nash's, from Wayland Seminary, and he remained a "staunch friend." From the Collection of Foit Albert Architects, image labeled "Book 1.10.jpg".

Most of these newcomers moved to Buffalo's east side, the historic center of Buffalo's African American population. Buffalo churches absorbed these large populations of immigrants, including the Michigan Street Baptist Church and the new Durham Memorial A.M.E. Zion Church, built in 1922 as the largest African American church in Buffalo. Older church members, especially those like Rev. J. Edward Nash, who had become a well-respected leader

[199] James Gregory Bennett, The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migrations of Black and White Southerners Transformed America (University of North Carolina, 2007); Isabel Wilkerson, The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America's Great Migration (Random House, 2010); The Circle Association, "History of African Americans in Western New York," http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny.html. For Buffalo's population figures, see "Buffalo," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo,_New_York, and "Great Migration (African American), en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Migration_(African_American)#Statistics.

in Buffalo, helped acclimate the newcomers to Buffalo. Members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church also took a leadership role in forming new institutions, such as the Michigan Street YMCA (1926, designed by a local black architect, John Brent), the Colored Musicians' Club (1918), the NAACP (1919), the Buffalo Urban League, the Big Brothers' Association, African American lodges, and a chapter of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. New African American businesses emerged, along with a Negro Businessman's League and the American Colored Workmen's League.[200]

a. Representative members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1923-1953

In lieu of a detailed analysis of membership records for the Michigan Street Baptist Church for this period, or online newspapers for Buffalo, or of a long-overdue biography of Rev. Nash, we can look briefly at three members—Frances Jackson Nash, Alma McCurry Brooks, and Rev. J. Edward Nash himself. Together, they represent the extensive work of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in this period.[201]

(1) Frances Jackson Nash

In 1925, thirty-year-old Frances Jackson married the fifty-seven-year-old Rev. J. Edward Nash, who had been pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church since 1892, for thirty-three years. Their son Jesse Edward Nash, Jr., was born the following year. They moved into a house, built in 1892, at 36 Potter Street (now 36 Nash Street), to the southeast behind the church. There Rev. Nash had his study, and the whole family had its home.[202]

Figure 1.27: Frances Jackson Nash. www.uncrownedcommunity builders.com/person/frances-jackson-nash.

Frances Nash was not only the first lady of the Michigan Street Baptist Church but she was very much a modern woman, with individual interests of her own. Born in 1895 to Samuel and Harriet Jackson, Frances Jackson represented those families who had been in Buffalo for generations. Both Frances and her brother Raymond had an interest in the arts. Raymond was a founder of the Colored Musicians' Club, and Frances studied piano and music theory, theater arts, ceramics, and dress design and sewing. She also took courses in business, Bible history, and health and nutrition. She became a skilled elocutionist, amazing people with "phenomenal memory," allowing her to memorize long poems and biblical passages.

Her son Jesse Nash, Jr., in a telephone interview with historian Judith Wellman in February 2013, remembered his mother as a very spiritual woman. She would often say, "I am a child of the

[200] The Circle Association, "History of African Americans in Western New York," ww.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/1900-1935.html.

[201] Buffalo Baptist Association annual minutes contain brief descriptions of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in this period, but known copies exist only in the American Baptist Historical Association in Atlanta, George.

[202] "Rev. J. Edward Nash, Sr., House" www.nps.gov/resources/site.htm?id=18658

King, and this is my Father's world. I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me, and perfect love casts out fear." "In God I live and move and have my being."

Frances Nash played many roles in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. She was superintendent of the Sunday School, director of the summer Bible school, moderator of Christian Culture Congress forums, and a member of the Willing Workers' Club and the Missionary Society. She played the piano for the church choir and taught a sewing class. She was also active in community organizations outside her church, including the NAACP, YWCA, Michigan Avenue YMCA, Ministers' Wives Association of Buffalo and Vicinity, Buffalo Federation of Negro Women, the Phyllis Wheatley Club, Lit-Mus Club, and Book Lover's Club.

A serious illness led her to a strong interest in healthful food and nutrition and also in Christian Science. She liked to remind people, "you are what you eat." She had a large vegetable garden in her backyard and on abandoned land next door to the house, where she grew vegetables. She encouraged neighbors to help in the community garden as a way of creating strong neighborhood associations. When the City of Buffalo required her either to purchase the land or to give up the garden, she had to give up the garden, which became an empty lot for the rest of her life. Frances Jackson remained physically active, however, into her old age. She walked four or five miles a day, played tennis and joined the church bowling team in her eighties.

Jesse Nash, Jr., also remembered his mother's emphasis on race pride. She loved to sing the Negro national anthem, which she called "our song." Frances Nash would say to her son, "You are not a Negro. You understand that. You are not a Negro!" "Well," recalled Jesse, Jr., "I didn't know what a Negro was." And his mother would add, "You are Afro-American." And Jesse would say to himself, "I am?"

When young Jesse was in the fourth or fifth grade, his teacher decided to have a Negro history week. She wanted Jesse to play a part, but he said, "I can't do that. I am not a Negro."

"Oh my goodness," said the teacher. "You are not what?" When Jesse brought his mother to school, she set the teacher straight: "We are Afro-American!"

Frances Jackson Nash outlived her husband by thirty years. She died in 1987 at age 92.[203]

(2) Alma McCurry Brooks

Alma McCurry Brooks well represents that generation of African Americans who came to Buffalo in the Great Migration. Born in Memphis, Tennessee, she came with her sisters, her mother (who worked as a domestic) and her father (employed at the Crosby steel company). Educated in the Buffalo Public Schools, she married Booker T. Brooks in 1926 and had five children.[204]

[203] Peggy Brooks Bertram and Barbara Seals Nevergold, *Uncrowned Queens*: *African American Women Community Builders*, vol. 3, 60-63, www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/frances-jackson-nash.

[204] Ibid, vol. 3, 31-33, www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/alma-mccurry-brooks.

As a member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, she was a "devoted churchwoman," noted Peggy Brooks Bartram and Barbara Seals Nevergold. Like other churchwomen leaders, she served many positions in the church, in the Missionary Society, as an usher, as a deaconess. She also worked in regional Baptist organizations, including the Deaconess Board of the Great Lakes Association and the Buffalo Baptist Women's Conference. For twenty-five years, Alma Brooks organized a weekly Bible class called "Family Devotions" for up to thirty neighborhood children. Her daughter remembered that she would shake an Arm & Hammer baking powder can with marbles it every Friday afternoon at 3:00 p.m. to call the children to school.

But, like other women in the Michigan Street Baptist Church, her influence extended far beyond the church. She had a passion for both reading and writing. For thirty-five years, she worked on organized reading programs through the Buffalo Public Library. For forty years, she wrote a column for the *Criterion*. She also wrote two books, *Quotations with a Meaning* and *Acres of Diamonds from My Scrapbook of Black Authors*. "Sharing the philosophy of these great writers with the public has been my dream for three decades," she wrote. "To know how delicious this book is, and what a rich heritage blacks have, open to any page and you will be so thirsty thrilled, and amazed by the fascinating details of the cultural development of blacks in America—a segment of this country's history too often lost, forgotten, or missing from textbooks—you will want to read the whole book at once." As *Uncrowned Queens* noted, "Alma Brooks was truly a remarkable woman and a community treasure."

Figure 1.28: Alma McCurry Brooks was a devoted churchwoman and her influence extended far beyond the Michigan Ave. Baptist Church. http://www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/alma-mccurry-brooks

(3) Rev. J. Edward Nash

Rev. J. Edward Nash was the most famous of this trio. His papers, microfilmed as a labor of love by the Monroe Fordham Regional History Center at Buffalo State University, offer an unparalleled look into the life of an urban African American pastor for the sixty-one years of Rev. Nash's ministry (1892-1953). They will form the core of a biography for some future scholar. At this point, however, almost everything available in secondary sources about Rev. Nash's life comes from Monroe Fordham, "Index and Introduction to the Microfilmed Nash Papers." An article by Gabriel Smith on Rev. Nash's correspondence with soldiers during World War II; a 2006 presentation by Felix Armfield on Rev. Nash's life in photographs, with comments by Jesse Nash, Jr.; and an article by Professor Armfield in *Western New York Heritage* 6:4 (Winter 2004) are also important sources. Scattered newspaper articles from the vertical file in the Buffalo History

Museum offer tantalizing glimpses of what are most likely many more available on microfilm.[205]

Historian Monroe Fordham called Rev. Nash a man of "legendary status" in twentieth century Buffalo. "During most of that period," wrote Dr. Fordham, "he was the most widely known and respected African-American in the city." In 1912, he received an honorary doctorate from Virginia Union University (formed from a merger between his alma mater Wayland Seminary and other schools). He became an influential voice in the Buffalo Urban League, the NAACP to Buffalo, the Buffalo Baptist Association (where he served as moderator and as secretary for thirty-two years), and the Ministers Alliance of Buffalo, an interracial religious group. Rev. Nash was the first president of this group, and he served it for thirty-two years as secretary. He also served for forty-two years as secretary of the Baptist Disciples Ministers Fellowship. He was an honorary member of the American Federation of Musicians (Local 533), a member of the board of Planned Parenthood, and a former director of the Buffalo Eye Bank. He was also chaplain at Meyer Memorial Hospital for twenty-one years. As Fordham noted, Rev. Nash also "called and led several community political meetings of black Buffalonians to intercede on behalf of local black citizens who were in danger of being wronged because of their race."[206]

In 2006, at a celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Niagara Movement, Jesse Nash, Jr., remembered both his parents. "My Dad's study was off limits," remembered Jesse, and my mother, she was all over the house." Each parent shared a strong spiritual grounding, but each had different perspectives. From his mother, the actress, Jesse, Jr., learned about Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson and Roland Hayes. From his father, he heard about revolutionaries and visionaries such as Toussaint L'Overture, Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner. Both parents told him about Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman. Jesse Nash, Jr., "never heard my Dad talk very much, if at all, about Booker T. Washington, but my mother did talk about W.E.B. Dubois."

Rev. Nash, remembered his son, "didn't take himself too seriously, but he took his situation seriously." True to his religious and social beliefs, "he was most instrumental in applying the application of the spiritual with the social gospel, not one or the other, but both." So he acted not only as a pastor and preacher but also as a marriage counselor, employment agent, and distributor of food during the Depression. His constant prayer, he told a *Buffalo Evening News* reporter in 1942, was that "God would keep me conscious of the fact that in Him I live and move and have my being." That, explained the reporter, was the source of his "kindly minister and visitation to the poor." Rev. Nash made his social gospel goals even more specific: "I never wanted to be a great popular preacher, nor was I ambitious for a pretentious church building that would put a debt on my people. I

[205] Monroe Fordham, "Index and Introduction to the Microfilmed Nash Papers" (2002), www.google.com/search?client=safari&rls=en&q=nash+papers&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8; Gabriel Smith, "Correspondence between the Reverend J. Edward Nash, Sr., Pastor, Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, NY and African-American soldiers during World War II," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 28:1 (January 2004); Felix Armfield, "J. Edward Nash and the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church," January 26, 2006, http://www.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/2006/01/20060126 _1700 _niagara.mp3, http://newsandevents.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/lecture-j-edward-nash-and-michigan-avenue-baptist-church.

[206] "Rev. J. Edward Nash," www.monroefordham.org/people/Dr_Nash.html; "Dr. Nash Quits Sickbed to Mark 50 Years as Baptist Pastor," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 20, 1942, in files of the Buffalo History Museum; "Dr. J. Edward Nash Dies," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 26, 1957.

wanted my people to have bank accounts and a home. When they had these, then they were encouraged in community service."[207]

The Depression seems to have hit the Michigan Street Baptist Church hard, as it did most Americans. Rev. Nash voluntarily took a fifteen percent cut in pay, which he vowed to continue until two-thirds of his congregation were working. As of 1942, he still had not resumed his full pay.

When the church celebrated its 100th anniversary in 1939, Judge Edward W. Henry of Philadelphia, son of founding members, gave the keynote speech. While praising the patriotism of the Negro, Judge Henry also asserted that the church is "rich in historical background, having been one of the stations in the underground railway."[208]

In 1922, 1927, 1932, 1937, 1942, and later, Rev. Nash's congregation commemorated the anniversaries of his arrival among them. These anniversaries were weeklong celebrations featuring speakers from various churches, concerts, and church services. In both 1932 and 1942, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., noted pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church, at one time the largest Protestant congregation in the country, spoke in the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Rev. Powell was "one of the foremost Negro clerics in the country," noted the *Buffalo Evening News* on June 20, 1932. Rev. Powell was also a former classmate of Rev. Nash's, from Wayland Seminary, and he remained a "staunch friend." At the fortieth celebration, Rev. Powell lauded Rev. Nash as "a man of broad education, fine personality, large experience, and great spiritual gifts." God sent Rev. Nash to the Michigan Street Baptist Church, intoned Rev. Powell, just as he sent Moses to lead the children of Israel. "A prepared, God-sent man can never fail." In 1932, Henrietta Wright was the only church member still living who had first welcomed Rev. Nash to the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1892. Rev. Nash, however, was still going strong. He was "no less active in his 40th pulpit year than he was in his first," commented Rev. Frederick G. Reynolds, executive secretary of the Buffalo Baptist Association. [209]

In the early 1940s, Rev. Nash experienced major health problems. He stayed out of the pulpit for eleven weeks, undergoing major surgery. His friends worried that he might not recover, but Rev. Nash, doubtless with a twinkle in his eye, told them not to worry. "I knew if I didn't get up, I'd go up," he joked.[210]

During World War II, Rev. Nash wrote letter after letter to African American soldiers from Buffalo. As historian Gabriel Smith noted, about forty young men from the Michigan Street Baptist Church enlisted in World War II. The Nash Papers contain correspondence—letters, postcards, poems, and notes—sent to

[207] Jesse Nash, Jr., 2006; "Dr. Nash Quits Sickbed to Mark 50 Years as Baptist Pastor," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 20, 1942, in files of the Buffalo History Museum.

[208] "Patriotism of Church Praised," *Buffalo News*, June 30, 1939.

[209] "Week of Services to Mark Pastor's 40th Anniversary," *Buffalo Evening* News, June 25, 1932; "Dr. J.E. Nash Is Honored for Long Pastorate," *Buffalo Courier*, June 27, 1932; "Dr. J. Edward Nash Honored at Service," *Buffalo Evening News*, June 27, 1932"Dr. Nash Quits Sickbed to Mark 50 Years as Baptist Pastor," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 20, 1942, in files of the Buffalo History Museum, and programs and notes in the Nash Papers, at Buffalo State.

[210] "Dr. Nash Quits Sickbed to Mark 50 Years as Baptist Pastor," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 20, 1942, in files of Buffalo State.

Rev. Nash by twenty-six young soldiers, including three brothers, Leonard, Calvin, and William Wilcox. To William Gregory, Rev. Nash wrote about the church committee, chaired by Mrs. Emma Williams, "to keep in touch with our Boys. And we had her read your letter on Sunday morning." The committee sent cookies, gifts, and Bibles as well as letters to the soldiers. The church also placed a roll of honor in the vestibule, listing the names of "all our Boys who are in the army." The congregation responded eagerly to photos that soldiers sent to be placed on the honor roll.[211]

Economically, the war years were good to Buffalo and to members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. "Every thing here in Buffalo, in the church and out of the church, moves on in quite a satisfactory way. Every body has plenty of work and is making good money," wrote Rev. Nash. Spiritually, the Michigan Street Baptist Church congregation, like the country as a whole, had to confront the clash between killing one's enemy and Christian commandments to love those who persecute you. Rev. Nash did not minimize this conflict. "For every body these are dark days," he preached. "These are days when many hearts are heavy and filled with fear and trembling; and many hearts are filled with anxiety, sadness and sorrow . . . . Nations will never beat their swords into [ploughshares] and their spears into pruning hooks until God is given a place and a larger role in their councils." [212]

Most of all, remembered Jesse Nash, Jr., Rev. Nash identified himself as a Christian. "I can never be a white man, but I don't have to be what people want me to be. I can be what I think I ought to be, and that is a Christian," Rev. Nash told his son. "People will deal with me as a Christian, not as a Negro."[213]
J. Edward Nash retired on October 9, 1953, after sixty-one years as pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. In his honor, the Buffalo Common Council renamed Potter St. as Nash Street. The Buffalo Baptist Association honored him for his "remarkable record," as a pastor who was "always aggressive in community affairs, working always from the unifying base of a conviction concerning all people as the children of God." The National Conference of Christians and Jews gave him its annual Brotherhood Award in 1954. The NAACP gave him a lifetime membership.[214]

Four years later, Rev. Nash died on January 26, 1957, after being confined to his home at 36 Nash Street for several months. His obituary called him "the dean of Protestant clergymen." He was honored by people all over the country, and his legacy echoes still.[215]

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[211] Gabriel Smith, "Correspondence between the Reverend J. Edward Nash, Sr., Pastor, Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, NY and African-American soldiers during World War II," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 28:1 (January 2004).

[212] Ibid.

[213] Jesse Nash, Jr., Comments after a lecture by Felix Armfield, "J. Edward Nash and the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church," January 26, 2006. http://www.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/2006/01/20060126_1700_niagara.mp3, http://newsandevents.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/lecture-j-edward-nash-and-michigan-avenue-baptist-church.

[214] "Dr. J. Edward Nash Dies," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 26, 1957; Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York," http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny-michigan.st.church.html.

[215] "Dr. J. Edward Nash Dies," *Buffalo Evening News,* January 26, 1957.

b. Changes at the Church Building

In 1948, a major fire erupted in the old Broadway Auditorium, behind Michigan Street Baptist Church to the east, across Potter Street. Originally built in 1858 as an armory, the Broadway Auditorium became an indoor sports arena and then, during World War II, a military police barracks and housing for prisoners of war. Renovations in 1948 were designed to convert the building to a city garage. On August 30, a kerosene flare used to warn pedestrians about construction, fell over and ignited a large pool of kerosene. Discovered by night watchman Walz and his dog Spotty, the conflagration destroyed the roof and all except part of a wall of the original 1858 armory structure. Flames one hundred feet high created a low-hanging smoke cloud. The three-alarm fire injured three fireman, caused damage of $50,000, and attracted a crowd of 20,000 onlookers. "Fireman poured water on adjoining buildings, which were showered by sparks from the falling roof," noted the *Tonawanda Evening News*.[216]

Some of these sparks apparently ignited the roof of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, starting a fire in the baptistery section. Nash noted that the congregation met in September 1948 in the Michigan Street YMCA, because there was so much damage in the church. They called an emergency meeting to discuss whether they should repair the church or build a new one. As part of the documentation for this Historic Structure Report Crawford and Stearns, Architects and Preservation Planners, staff identified physical remains of the fire including charred framing in the attic above the east addition.

In 2013, Buffalo planned once more to demolish the old "Aud", while preservationists in the Campaign for Greater Buffalo offered a plan to renovate the structure for recreational and civic activities, including a "world-class indoor track." "The Campaign has recommended peeling back most of the unsympathetic additions," noted supporters, "and renovating it as 'The Nash Street Armory,' a world-class indoor track venue and place for civic events and recreation, bringing visitors, attention, and reinvestment to a fascinating neighborhood."[217]

Ironically, Frances Nash had worked for a similar plan in the 1940s. She tried to convince the city to use the old auditorium, slated for demolition, as a housing and recreation center. Instead, it became a garage for city trucks.[218]

5. End of an Era, 1950-1975

After Rev. Nash retired, Rev. Porter W. Phillips, Jr., became pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. By 1962, the congregation numbered about six hundred. Most of them had moved out of the eastside area, however, a casualty of Buffalo's changing demographics. The Humboldt Parkway Methodist Church building was for sale for $95,000. The Michigan Avenue Baptist Church decided to buy it, since it was closer to the homes of seventy percent of the congregation. Members celebrated their last service in the Michigan Street Baptist Church on February 25, 1962. Pastor Phillips preached a sermon entitled "Look Back and

[216] *Tonawanda Evening News*, August 31, 1948; http://dmna.ny.gov/historic/armories/BuffaloBroadway.htm; Nancy Todd, *New York's Historic Armories: An Illustrated History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006), 63.

[217] "Brown and Franczyk Add Broadway Barns to Lengthy Demo List," http://www.buffalorising.com/2011/04/brown-and-franczyk-add-broadway-barns-to-lengthy-demo-list.html.

[218] "Armory Fire, 1948: City wants to demo old Broadway arsenal/armory/auditorium; Campaign has an alternative," February 17, 2012, greaterbuffalo.blogs.com; Bertram and Nevergold, "Frances J. Nash," Uncrowned Community Builders, www.uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/person/frances-jackson-nash.

Up," and the pastor and congregation read a "Litany of Thanksgiving and Dedication." The next Sunday, they began services in the former Humboldt Parkway Methodist Church, where the congregation continued to reside.[219]

In the 1960s, this congregation played an active role in the Civil Rights movement in Buffalo. Stephanie Phillips, daughter of Rev Porter W. Phillips, Jr., recalled that her father, like Martin Luther King, Jr., "was trained in the Social Gospel tradition, and believed that it was the obligation of the church to work for social justice."[220]

In 1962, the Michigan Street Baptist Church sold to the Macedonia Baptist Church, which remained in the building until 1975.

6. Rejuvenation and Remembrance: 1974 to 2013

In the period following World War II, Buffalo experienced massive and extreme deindustrialization. Whole areas of the economy simply closed down, including steel and port-related industries that had once made Buffalo the Queen City of the Lakes. Completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway meant that ocean-going ships could enter the Great Lakes system, bypassing Buffalo entirely as a trans-shipment point.

Buffalo's overall population decreased from a high of 580,132 in 1950 to 328,123 in 1990 to 261,310 in 2010. White flight to the suburbs left Buffalo "with one of the highest levels of racial residential segregation in the United States." In 2010, Buffalo was 38.6 percent African American and slightly over fifty percent European American, with a significant proportion of Hispanic Americans and other people of color.[221]

As one result of this population loss, the City of Buffalo used federal funds in the 1970s to tear down large segments of Buffalo's nineteenth century residential, commercial, and industrial buildings, including much of the predominantly African American Michigan Street neighborhood on Buffalo's near eastside. The historic Michigan Street Baptist Church was one of the few significant buildings left standing in this neighborhood. The J. Edward Nash house at 36 Nash Street, behind the church, was another. The Colored Musicians' Club was a third. And Broadway Auditorium was a fourth.[222]

The story of the rejuvenation of the Michigan Street Baptist Church is a study of how people shape public memory and then translate that memory into the built environment. Through local action, ideas crystallized into physical form. In the early 1970s, Buffalo citizens confronted urban renewal in the immediate neighborhood of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Recognizing the historic significance of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and its importance in shaping Buffalo's image in the present and future, a small group of local

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[219] "Church Abandoned," [*Buffalo Evening News?],* May 21, 1961; "Michigan Avenue Church Plans Move," *Buffalo Evening News*, January 24, 1962; "Michigan Baptists Plan Farewell to Old Church," *Buffalo Evening News,* February 24, 1962; "Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1845-49," by James Napora in "Houses of Worship: A Guide to the Religious Architecture of Buffalo, New York," www.buffaloah.com/how/15/15.1/mich.html.

[220] Justin Sondel, "The Past Present," *ArtVoice*, 7:41, http://artvoice.com/issues/v7n41/the_past_present.

[221] *USA Today* (1991), quoted in Ibipo Johnston-Anumonwo, "Getting to Work in Spite of the Odds: Commuting Patterns of African Americans in Rochester and Buffalo, New York," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 28:1 (January 2004); "Buffalo, New York," en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buffalo,_New_York.

[222] "The Colored Musicians' Club of Buffalo, New York," http://www.coloredmusiciansclub.org/history.html; "The Nash House," http://www.nashhousemuseum.org/history.html.

people—affiliated with government, tourism, and church organizations—came together from different perspectives, bringing different skills. With help from both state and federal preservation agencies, this coalition focused immense energy on preserving not only this historic church building but also the home of its most important twentieth century minister, Rev. J. Edward Nash.

This grassroots group recognized both the historic and economic importance of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. On the one hand, the former Michigan Street Baptist Church was a reminder of the importance of churches in African American history—as the basis of community integration and Underground Railroad activity in the nineteenth century and the mother of major African American institutions (NACW, NAACP, Urban League, and YMCA, for example) in the twentieth century. On the other hand, this church was a physical anchor on Buffalo's near eastside, a key to economic development through heritage tourism, and an investment in reshaping Buffalo's image in the present and future.

Dozens of people contributed to this effort. But three men in particular represent an extraordinary coalition of African American leadership in historic preservation, tourism, and economic development. They created a project that has involved a lifelong commitment from each of them, representing many more local citizens, both African American and European American. George K. Arthur, former Buffalo City Council member, member of the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation, and long-time preservationist, represents the role of local government. Kevin Cottrell is an entrepreneurial preservationist and tourism director. Bishop William K. Henderson represents the church that has owned the building since 1975.

The history of memorializing the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a conscious historic preservation effort begins in 1974. Recognizing that many buildings in the immediate neighborhood of the Michigan Street Baptist Church were slated for extensive demolition in the near future, a group led by George K. Arthur, a Buffalo city councilman from the Ellicott District, decided to work toward protecting the church. Arthur successfully asked the Buffalo City Council to pass a resolution asking the Landmark Society of the Niagara Frontier to support a nomination of the MSBC to the National Register of Historic Places. With support from the New York State Department of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, the Michigan Street Baptist Church was listed on the National Register the same year.[223]

In 1975, the Macedonia Baptist Church sold the structure to El Bethel Temple Holiness Church (also known as El Bethel Assembly, Light of the World Mission). This mission was the work of a remarkable man. Bishop William K. Henderson had grown up in Buffalo near the Michigan Street Baptist Church, living with his aunt and uncle. At age fourteen, Bishop Henderson began his lifelong preaching career. Starting on the streets of Buffalo's eastside, he moved into a long career as an evangelist and preacher in Buffalo, the West Indies, Canada, and Africa. When the Michigan Street Baptist Church came up for sale in 1974, Bishop Henderson recognized a unique opportunity to settle his congregation in a real church building, not simply a storefront location.[224]

When El Bethel acquired the former Michigan Street Baptist Church, the congregation made some cosmetic changes to the building including a large wall mural, the addition of paneling, a new doorway to the auditorium, and a new office in the basement for the pastor. Reflecting Bishop Henderson's own background as the son of a Jewish father and an African American mother, El Bethel services combine elements of Pentecostal Christianity with Jewish services.

[223] Ralph Dibble, "Drive Bids to Save Black Church as National Historic Monument,"" *Buffalo Evening News*, c. 1974.

[224] Bishop William Henderson, interview with Judith Wellman, August 2012.

The congregation uses a menorah, for example, "to remind people that Jesus was a Hebrew," and they celebrate Passover.[225]

As late as the mid-1970s, no one had yet done serious historical research on the early history of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. But a long-standing oral tradition, often repeated in written sources, connected the Michigan Street Baptist Church to the Underground Railroad. Recognizing the importance of this church to the Underground Railroad, Bishop Henderson saw an opportunity to attract a new audience—tourists—to help support the huge task of maintaining this building. Over the next several years, he used his remarkable skills as a preacher to present a plausible interpretation of Underground Railroad stories to hundreds of tourists from around the world.[226]

When Bishop Henderson acquired the Michigan Street church, Buffalo's Monsignor Walter Kerns had already done significant research on the church's history. Monsignor Kerns would bring busloads of tourists to the Michigan Street Church. This emphasis on heritage tourism expanded in the 1980s. By 1987, regular Underground Railroad tours introduced tourists to this important part of Buffalo's history. Entitled "Locate the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," these tours began at the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[227]

In 1993, Kevin Cottrell, working for the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation and a true visionary, co-founded the Underground Railroad Committee of the Niagara Frontier. With advice from noted Underground Railroad historian Charles Blockson of Temple University, nine people from this group traveled for eighteen days through fifteen cities, following Underground Railroad routes from Atlanta, Georgia, to St. Catharine's, Ontario. The project was incorporated into a PBS documentary about Harriet Tubman with actress Cicely Tyson, *A Woman Called Moses.*[228]

Out of this experience, the Underground Railroad Committee of the Niagara Frontier continued to document the history of the Underground Railroad on the Niagara Frontier. In 1993, Kevin Cottrell created a new heritage tourism company called Motherland Connextions. He also helped to organize the not-for-profit Michigan Street Preservation Corporation, with George K. Arthur as one of the Board members. Their mission statement committed them to stabilize and restore the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a way "to introduce historic preservation to the community from an African-American perspective, a perspective that acknowledges the contributions and achievements of those ordinary people who have made up the history while at the same time, preserving those significant structures and sites associated with their deeds. . . . The Center will be part of the global network that will link on-line with other similar institutions in North America."[229]

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[225] "'Born Again' El-Bethel Church 'Keeping the Faith' on East Side," *Buffalo News,* July 30, 1978; "Keeping faith with the past," *Buffalo News,* February 26, 2000.

[226] "Decaying Depots on the Tracks to Freedom," NY Times, July 10, 2001, http://www.motherlandconnextions.com/nytimes1.html; "Michigan Street Baptist Church and the Underground Railroad," *ArtVoice, http://video.artvoice.com/artvoicetv.php?permalink=0000000296;* Justin Sondel, "The Past Present," *ArtVoice,* 7:41 (2008), http://artvoice.com/issues/v7n41/the_past_present.

[227] References to Monsignor Kerns from conversation with Bishop Henderson, March 1, 2012. Bishop Henderson noted that Monsignor Kerns wanted Bishop Henderson to have his historical research materials, but Monsignor Kerns has a stroke before he could complete the transfer, and all his papers were lost. *Hamburg Sun*, May 7, 1987.

[228] Motherland Connextions, http://www.motherlandconnextions.com/cp.html; *www.youtube.com/watch?v=-PPfC1NzH-g.*

[229] "Michigan Street Preservation Corporation," undated clipping, Buffalo History Museum.

Because of the importance of the local African American community in developing the Underground Railroad, attention focused on the Michigan Avenue area, including the Michigan Street Baptist Church, as a possible historic district. "The Underground Railroad was this country's first multicultural humanitarian effort," noted Cottrell, and the group envisioned work on the Michigan Avenue historic district to reflect the same diversity. "We want to make this a public project," said Cottrell. "We want to get everyone involved. It's black, it's white, it's red—it's everybody." Cottrell gave a presentation about the Buffalo project to the national historic preservation conference in Fort Worth, Texas, that year, comparing the proposed Michigan Avenue Historic District to Atlanta's Auburn Avenue, commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr.'s life and work. "It's just one more little jewel to add to the city," Cottrell noted. "It's got to be an economic stimulus. What else could it be?""[230]

In 1996, Kevin Cottrell, representing the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation and Bishop William H. Henderson of El Bethel Assembly signed a historic agreement to promote together the restoration of this church. Kevin Cottrell discussed plans to raise $1.3 million toward complete restoration, with a new museum and resource center named in honor of Bishop Henderson. An extraordinary coalition of African American leaders supported this initiative. Mayor Masiello noted the church's importance to Buffalo's "civic heritage," commemorating both the Underground Railroad and abolitionism. "This church has always had a special place within the community," added Common Council President James W. Pitts. "This is actually the first time we're going to take this church and give it the recognition and attention it deserves." Jesse Nash, Jr., professor of sociology at Canisius College and son of Rev. J. Edward Nash, who served the Michigan Street Baptist Church for sixty-one years, cited the building's historic importance and added that the church held celebrations of the Emancipation Proclamation annually until World War II. Kevin Cottrell credited Bishop Henderson with saving the building, and Bishop Henderson summed up his support of the project: "El-Bethel worships here, but this belongs to the black community." *Buffalo News* reporter Mike Vogel noted that this agreement signaled "both faith in a community and hope for its future." The city agreed, and James W. Pitts, President of the Buffalo City Council, gave the project $20,000 for preliminary architectural work.[231]

The project began to pick up momentum, attracting attention from state and national groups. Impressed by the historic significance of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and the progress that local activists had made toward its preservation, staff from the Northeast Regional Office of the National Trust for Historic Preservation visited the site in November 1996. "Sometimes you don't know what you have until somebody else tells you. The national interest being shown in the historic Michigan Street Baptist Church should tell Buffalonians what a treasure they have in the little red brick building on Michigan Avenue," noted the *Buffalo News,* "and it's proof that the entire area should get behind this project."[232]

In mid-November, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society (now the Buffalo History Museum), in conjunction with the Harriet Tubman 300s, put up historic markers at both the Michigan Street Baptist Church and at the foot of West Ferry Street, where many people who escaped from slavery took the boat to Canada and freedom. In 1998, the Governor's

[230] Mike Vogel, "National Preservation Conference to Hear of Plans for Center, Black Historic District," *Buffalo News,* October 1, 1995.

[231] Mike Vogel, "Historic Church to Be Preserved," *Buffalo News,* July 14, 1996, and "Agreement to Restore African-American Church Affirms Structure's Importance to Local History," *Buffalo News*, July 17, 1996.

[232] *Buffalo News,* October 19, 1996; Jay Rey, "National Agency Views Restoration Effort," *Buffalo News*, November 4, 1996.

Commission Honoring the Achievements of Women put up another marker near the site of Mary Talbert's home.[233]

The first two markers were installed just in time to greet Governor George Pataki, who visited the Michigan Street Baptist Church in November 1997 to sign into law New York State's Freedom Trail. Co-sponsored by Assemblyman Arthur O. Eve (D-Buffalo) and Senator Dale M. Volker (R-Depew), this legislation created the first such statewide freedom trail in the nation. "For a long time," said Governor Pataki, "New York ignored too much of the past. The story of this church, the story of the Freedom Trail, the story of this state and the Underground Railroad will no longer be slowly lost, piece by piece, but will be put back together for the next century and the next generation" The Governor appointed Kevin Cottrell as a member of the statewide commission. A little more than three years later, Governor Pataki returned to Buffalo to announce a million dollars in state funding to help support Underground Railroad sites.[234]

Local citizens recognized Cottrell's importance in spearheading African American and Underground Railroad tourism. In 1997, the *Buffalo News* honored him with an outstanding service award. "When Kevin Cottrell dons the chains and ragged clothing of a fugitive slave, he's doing more than looking back toward the past -- he's dreaming of the future," noted the *Buffalo News*. "The energy and vision he brought to the proposal [to preserve the Michigan Street Baptist Church] captivated not only the congregation, but also leaders of the African-American community, local historians, city leaders and the community at large . . . The non-profit Michigan Street Preservation Corporation he founded and heads now has support across any barriers of race, age, gender and geography." "If his church restoration project succeeds -- and many are hoping it will -- Buffalo will have another historic jewel," concluded the *News*. In the fall, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society honored the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation for its work in developing Michigan Avenue.[235]

Buffalo architects Hamilton Houston Lownie completed a limited historic structure report in January 1997 that outlined the significance, historical context, architectural descriptions, and provided proposed restoration work scopes and estimates. This report was limited but provided information for future grant applications.

When *U.S. News & World Report* featured the Michigan Street Baptist Church in its April 14, 1997, issue, public awareness of the building's importance received a major boost. But, noted the *Buffalo News, "*the church must be saved and restored if there's to be anything here for tourists to witness in years to come." Most important, the church needed a new roof.[236]

In early 1998, just when plans seemed to be coming together for preserving and restoring the church, the project hit a snag. The El Bethel (which owned the Michigan Street Baptist Church) and the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation could not agree on a long-term lease. The El Bethel congregation feared loss of control over its building if it gave a lease to the preservation group. "Just as heritage tourism is exploding nationally and Buffalo is looking to

[233] "Marker Honoring Social Activist to Be Installed," *Buffalo News,* September 30, 1998; "Remembering a Remarkable Woman," *Buffalo News,* October 1 1998.

[234] Vogel, "City church showcases new state Underground Railroad law," *Buffalo News,* November 5, 1997; Kevin Collison, "The Tourist Track State Funding Will Help Save Historic Sites," *Buffalo News,* February 9, 2001.

[235] "Yes, We Can," *Buffalo News*, February 16, 1997; "Organization, Two Historians Receive Award," *Buffalo News,* November 9, 1997.

[236] "Now Everyone Knows Buffalo's Historic Church," *Buffalo News*, April 14, 1997.

capitalize on it, one of the city's historic assets -- the Michigan Street Baptist Church -- stands in imminent danger," reported the *Buffalo News.* "The danger is both physical and bureaucratic. The church is falling apart, and so have the negotiations that could save it." Without a lease, none of the money raised by the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation could be spent. Stung by this impasse, the Michigan Street Preservation Corporation returned the $78,000 it had raised to preserve the building, put the beams designed to restore the roof structure into storage, and canceled the proposed architectural report. It was a dark time indeed for those who had pinned their hopes for an eastside renewal on preserving the MSBC. Through it all, however, Cottrell and Henderson remained friends. Henderson acted as caretaker for the Nash house behind the church, and Cottrell continued to take tours through the church.[237]

In 1998, Congress created the Underground Railroad Network to Freedom as a part of the National Park Service. The Network to Freedom listed known Underground Railroad sites as well as programs and research facilities. Listed sites could apply for funding through the Network to Freedom. Under Mayor Masiello, the City of Buffalo allocated $50,000 to create an Underground Railroad commemorative site at Broderick Park, a project spearheaded by Sandy White and the Buffalo Quarters Historical Society. The Broderick Park project noted the *Buffalo News,* was a "sparkling gem" that "should go a long way toward attracting visitors to our community and improving its economic future." A letter from Kevin Cottrell reinforced that view.[238]

In 2001, hopes again rose for restoring the Michigan Street Baptist Church. With encouragement from local newswoman Sandy White and others, Bishop Henderson organized a new group, the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition, to restore the structure. They outlined plans for a $1.5 million restoration and a $2.5 million visitors center and library next door. "I don't want the church to crumble," explained Bishop Henderson. "It's important not only for black history but to the history of Buffalo." Kevin Cottrell, from his perspective, explained, "We just want to see it go forward; we don't care who does what. We have no problem working with anybody; we'd like to be there for them."[239]

Such hopeful signs were reinforced by national news coverage. Both "Weekend Edition" of National Public Radio and the *New York Times* highlighted the Michigan Street Baptist Church. The *New York Times* article featured the Michigan Street Baptist Church building and an underground room at Murphy's Orchards, in nearby Burt, New York, along with other Underground Railroad sites across the nation.[240]

In early 2002, the Church faced new challenges: 1) demolition of two nearby buildings for a parking lot and 2) potential collapse of the church roof. On March 14, 2002, Topor Contracting, with a permit from the city, began to demolish the two buildings just south of the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Preservationists pointed out that the permit had been issued in error, without the required review for demolitions that impact sites on the National Register.

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[237] "Buffalo Must Not Lose this Church--But Without Quick Action, It Will," *Buffalo News,* March 1, 1998; Donn Esmonde, "New effort made to restore abolitionist-linked church," *Buffalo News,* September 10, 2001

[238] "Leading the Way on a Trail Worth Blazing," *Buffalo News*, June 15, 1998; Network to Freedom, www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/index.htm; Mike Vogel, "Experts Focus on Legacy of Underground Railroad," *Buffalo News,* August 7, 1998: "And Another Highlights Local History," *Buffalo News*, August 10, 1998; Kevin Cottrell, "Tourism Leaders Should Promote Heritage," *Buffalo News,* September 20, 1998.

[239] Donn Esmonde, "New effort made to restore abolitionist-linked church," *Buffalo News,* September 2001.

[240] http://www.npr.org/programs/wesun/features/2001/jul/010701.buffalopage1.html; http://www.motherlandconnextions.com/nytimes1.html; "Decaying Depots on the Tracks to Freedom," *New York Times,* July 10, 2001.

The city responded with a suit against Topor Contracting. When this did not deter the demolition, local preservationists faced down the bulldozers. Ellicott Council member Brian C. Davis parked his SUV in front of the bulldozer, backed up by Tim Tielman, Executive Director of the Preservation Coalition of Erie County, and Kevin Cottrell. The rear half of the structure at 509 Michigan Avenue, located just south of the church, was demolished, however, before work could be stopped.[241]

Physical evidence at the time supported the belief that the original wood shingle roof was still in place under approximately ten subsequent roofing layers. A portion of the roofing layers as removed at the time is preserved in a display cabinet currently in the Basement of the church. Architect Ted Lownie of Hamilton, Houston, Lownie Architects noted that all three roof trusses had deteriorated. When it rained, chunks of plaster fell into the sanctuary. "The water damage was bad," Henderson noted. "We knew it was going to come down." The Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo, The Cameron and Jane Baird Foundation, Margaret L Wendt Foundation, and the Sacred Sites program of the New York Landmarks Conservancy came to the rescue, donating a total of $55,800 to the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition to repair the roof. "We had been very interested in the church and the role it played in local history for some time," noted Gail Johnstone, president of the Community Foundation. Hamilton Houston and Lownie reinforced the truss, sistered roof framing, repaired brick walls, installed new plywood roof sheathing, and replaced the roof. Meanwhile, the West Seneca Youth Bureau AmeriCorps donated 100 hours of labor to clean and paint the building. Also in 2002, a $200,000 grant was awarded to El Bethel Assembly from the New York State's Environmental Protection Fund (EPF), to help restore the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[242]

In 2003, more good news came to the church. Under county executive Joel A Giambra, Erie County donated $35,000 for preservation of the church and another $25,000 for the Nash House. Bishop Henderson commented, "I'm glad God has enabled me to be the caretaker of this place. It has been a struggle, but faith has brought us this far." Cottrell, too, was pleased: "We're very proud we can bring a preservation movement on the East Side of Buffalo, which has never happened before."[243]

During the next few years, the Michigan Avenue Preservation Corporation focused its energies on restoring the home of Rev. J. Edward Nash, Frances Jackson Nash, and their son Jesse Nash, Jr. In 2006, a $1 million grant from New York State moved the project forward, helping to preserve their historic home as a museum and interpretive center, an anchor for the Michigan Avenue Heritage Corridor. The nearby Colored Musicians' Club was also slated for restoration. The purpose was to create a historic district that would both enhance local pride and heritage tourism in the region.[244]

Meanwhile the Michigan Street Baptist Church itself received a remarkable gift. The sign that had once announced church programs to the world had long ago disappeared. In February

[241] Emma D. Sapong, "Battle shapes up over start of demolition near historic city church," *Buffalo News,* March 30, 2002.

[242] Emma D. Sapong, "Local groups pitch in to rescue 19th century church," *Buffalo News,* March 2, 2002; Matt Gryta, "Judge tours Michigan Ave. church site," *Buffalo News,* May 20, 2002; Emma D. Sapong, "Roof of historic church is shored up, and just in time," *Buffalo News,* November 3, 2002; Hamilton, Houston, Lownie, "Michigan Street Baptist Church: Existing Conditions," November 12, 1996, January 9, 1997.

[243] Jay Rey, "Historic church buildings get $60,000," *Buffalo News,* February 8, 2003.

[244] *Buffalo News,* June 13, 2006.

2006, it came home, thanks to the generosity of local antique dealer Max Sloan and Peggy Brooks-Bertram and Barbara Seals Nevergold, representing the Uncrowned Queens project. The story behind its return symbolizes the enduring strength of human good will. Sol Sloan, antiques dealer on William Street, survived Nazi death camps to live in Buffalo for the rest of his life. His son Max discovered the MSBC sign in pieces at an estate sale. "I eventually put those pieces together," said Max. "It was then that I realized the importance of it." In his father's honor, Max Sloan gave the sign to the Michigan Avenue Preservation Corporation. Parallels between those who had escaped from slavery and Sol Sloan who had escaped from Auschwitz resonated with the audience. "My father knew what it meant to be persecuted," said Sloan. So do African-Americans. We recognize connections. We know this is part of the Underground Railroad. Ultimately, it is about people helping people." "We are only here today because of those who have gone before," said Max Sloan. "My Dad was about giving. The Nash family is about giving."[245]

Harry Scull Jr./Buffalo News

Peggy Brooks-Bertram, left, Barbara Nevergold and Max Sloan display a lost Michigan Avenue Baptist Church sign Sloan found. There's new progress in the corridor too.

Figure 1.29: *Buffalo News* photograph on the return of the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church sign. February 2006.

The following year, in 2007, New York State established the Michigan Street African-American Heritage Corridor Commission, funded with $120,000 secured by Assemblywoman Crystal D. Peoples-Stokes. Completion of the master plan will move the planning process forward, linking Buffalo's heritage area with the federally designated Niagara Falls National Heritage Area and the Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area, established by New York State.

Contract Documents for the NYS EPF rehabilitation project were prepared by Foit-Albert Architects of Buffalo in 2007. The scope of work, approved by the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, included primarily masonry repair and repointing, window replacement, and new aluminum gutters and downspouts. Work was publicly bid and Rodems Construction Co, Inc. of Orchard Park, NY was awarded the contract for construction. Under the EPF project additional roof and truss stabilization was completed as the attic trusses were continuing to spread and causing further deflection of the roof. This work included the installation of straps at the base of the truss, stabilization of the base post of the truss, and additional steel plating on the truss. The deteriorated masonry facade was repaired and repointed included the use of helical anchors to stabilize the damaged and bulging brick wall. Financial assistance was made possible with a $100,000 bridge loan from True

[245] Donn Esmonde, "A priceless gift finds its way home," *Buffalo News,* February 12, 2006; "Return of the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church Directory is Historic Event," *The Challenger,* February 15, 2006; Janice L. Habuda, "Historic sign from Michigan Avenue Baptist Church returned," *Buffalo News,* February 24, 2006.

Bethel Baptist Church of Buffalo that allowed El Bethel to complete the EPF project including the reconstruction of the two front stained glass windows facing Michigan Avenue.[246]

The vision of a heritage corridor—enhancing local pride and attracting tourists from around the world, anchored by the Michigan Street Baptist Church, the J. Edward Nash Home, and the Colored Musicians' Club—moves yet another step forward, a testament to ideals of freedom, past and present.

D. Physical Development of the Michigan Street Baptist Church

During the course of research and field investigation work at the Michigan Street Baptist Church a great deal of information was discovered relating to the physical history of the church and its sequence of alterations. The following history of alterations describes what has been noted to date. Further study and documentation of the J. Edward Nash Papers may reveal additional information relating to renovations and repairs during his sixty years of service to the Church. Additional research into any remaining archives of architect John H. Coxhead may unearth details of the 1908 baptistry prior to the fires.

1. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1840s

By the end of 1845 and early 1846 the stone raised basement was enclosed with first story framing overhead and a protective roof of some type in place allowing for services to be held in the basement between 1846 and 1849. The basement appears to have been finished and divided into a large meeting room on the west and two smaller rooms across the back section. The northeast back room and meeting room had plaster surfaced walls and ceiling as well as trimmed windows. The rectangular southeast rear room had flush board walls and ceiling. In the meeting room was a wood floor laid on wood framing/joists with beaded edge baseboard.

Between 1847 and 1849 the sidewall and gable end wall brickwork of the main building above the foundations was completed. The timber frame king post roof trusses were set in place on top of timber roof plates forming the shallow pitch main church roof. During the same time interior framing for the gallery and narthex cross wall were completed. By 1849 the auditorium appears to have been finished enough for services to be held in the space. It appears that the flat wall and ceiling plaster, cornice plaster work, ceiling medallion, wainscot, wide board wood window and doorway trim, interior doors, wide board flooring, raised east platform, gallery railing and tiered flooring, gallery stairways and double-hung tall windows were in place. Two stoves were in place with vent pipes to the two in-the-wall east chimneys. On the exterior the brick walls, stone foundation walls, roof and eaves, front doorway, front stoop with a pair of steps, basement entrance under the stoop, and windows were in place.

2. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1850s & 1860s

Work continued to finish the interior in the 1850s with particular note given to the construction of the auditorium box pews with doors by a local carpenter in 1851. Gas plumbing for gas lighting was installed by 1856 with iron gas pipe distribution system to the attic for the auditorium chandelier, gallery for stanchion lights, and basement for ceiling lighting. It was noted that the building was in need of repair in 1867 with "very dilapidated conditions"[247]; the extent and particulars of the repairs are undocumented.

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[246] "Governor Awards $18 million for Parks and Preservation," November 18, 2002, pb.state.ny.us/press_releases/governor/pr_20021118.pdf; Jay Tokasz, "True Bethel Aids Landmark Church," *Buffalo News,* December 24, 2009; "Heritage tourism hurt by Michigan Street inaction," *Buffalo News,* January 7, 2013.

[247] *Buffalo Courier*, March 7, 1867.

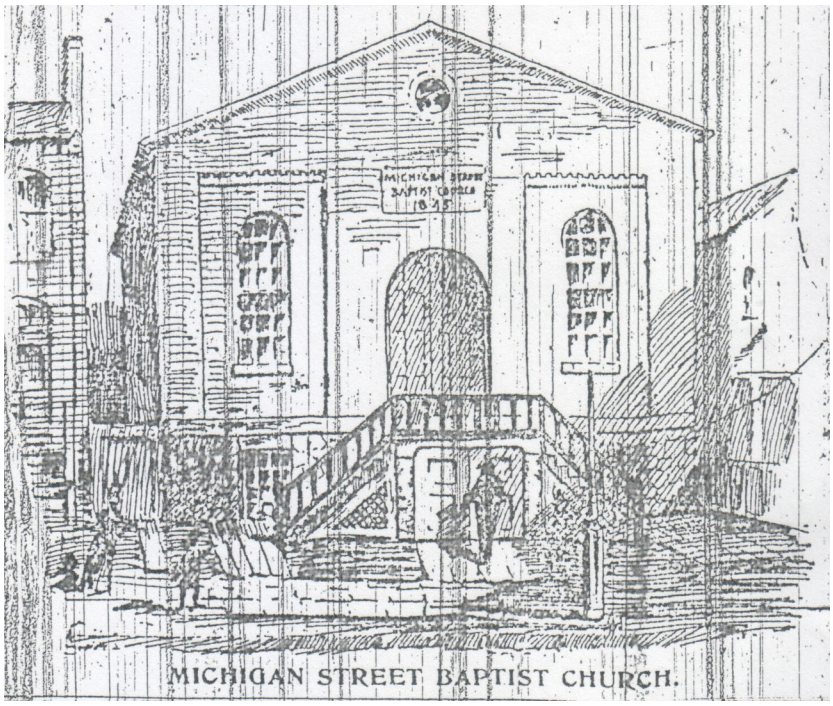


Figure 1.30: Rendering of Michigan Street Baptist Church. *Buffalo Courier*, October 13, 1894. From Special Collections / Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

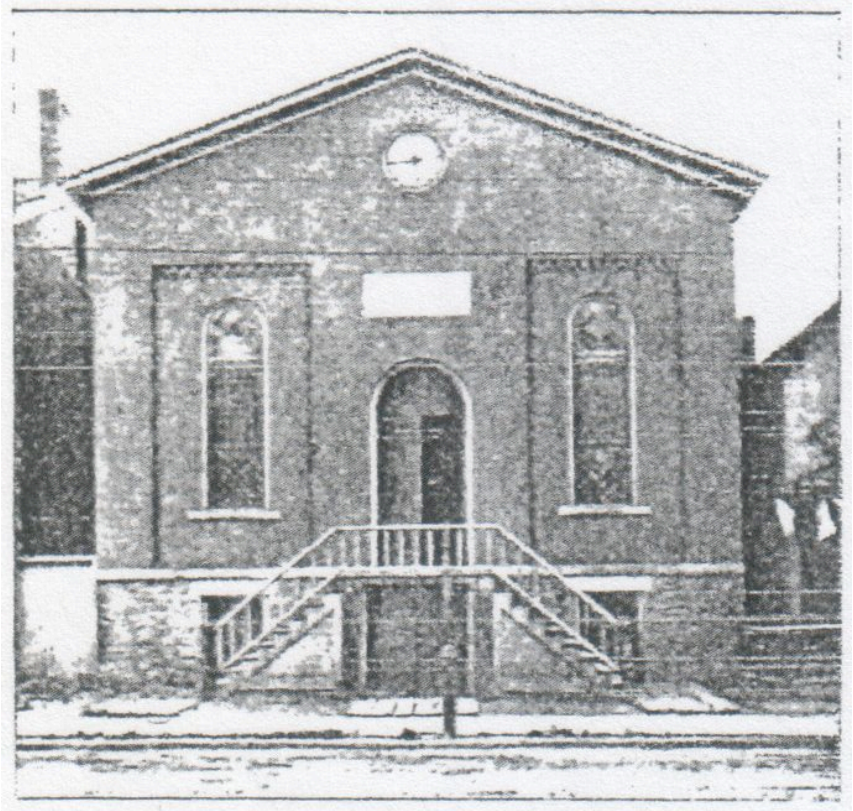


Figure 1.31: Michigan Street Baptist Church. Baptist Young People's Union, *Souvenir Program and Songbook* (1898). From Special Collections, Grosvenor Library, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

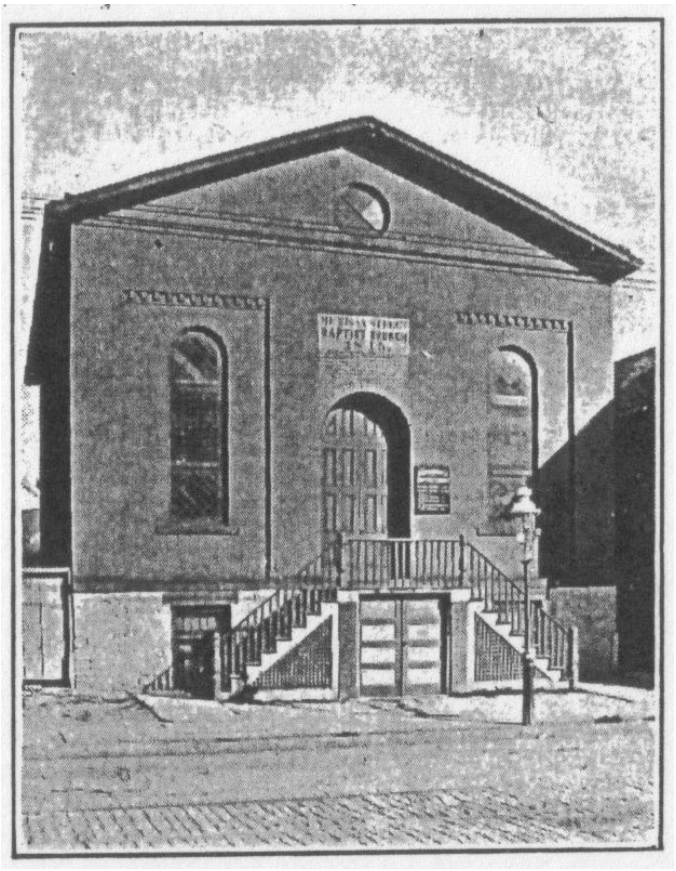


Figure 1.32: Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1917. *25th Anniversary Program*. From Special Collections, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

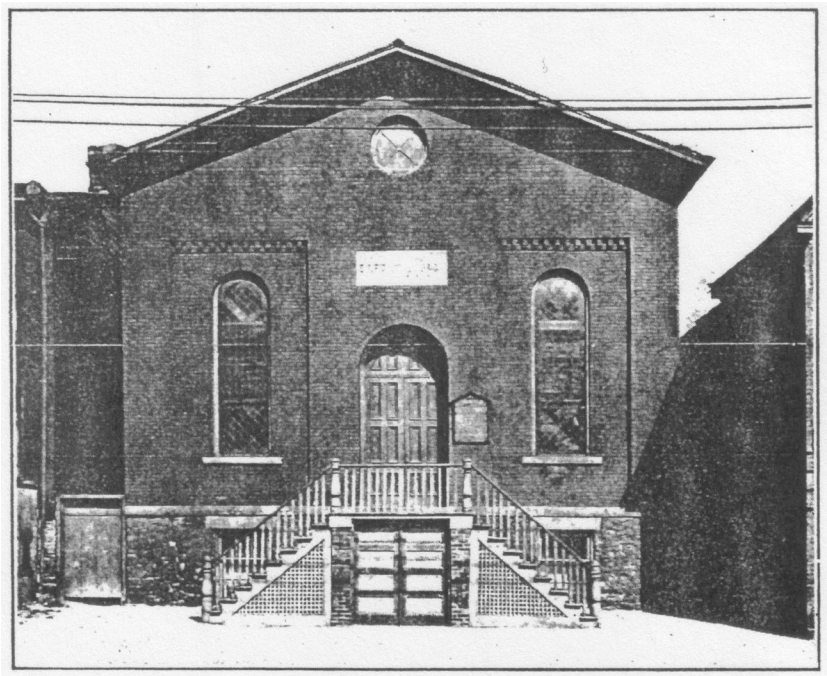


Figure 1.33: Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1930. *The Year of Jubilee: 1880-1930*, Buffalo Baptist Union. From Special Collections, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

3. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1880s

Again the church was in need of work and records indicate that in 1886 the building was re-opened after repair activities, funded through the Buffalo Baptist Union with the extent and particulars of all the repairs undocumented.

By 1889 straight back pews were in place (possibly by reworking of the older ones), the paired lancet arch tall auditorium windows with Eastlake style colored square panes in the auditorium replaced the 1849 clear glass double-hung sash, a baptism pool was installed within the auditorium, a calcium light fixture was installed to spotlight the ambo[248] area, complete interior repainting was completed and work on the raised platform was undertaken. The stoves were repaired with new tinwork stove pipes and gas lighting was maintained in the building.

In the basement the beadboard ceiling replaced the lath and plaster ceiling and a small water closet RB12 was installed against the rear wall with sewer and water services out the rear of the building. On the exterior roof work including tinwork on the gutters was undertaken.

4. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1890's

With the appointment of Reverend Nash, the Michigan Street Baptist Church's fortunes began to increase and improvements were made. Records indicate that wire cloth was installed over two windows, more tin and gutter work was completed and general refurbishment undertaken. By 1896 work in the front of the auditorium had been completed with installation of a small pipe organ, raised platform repairs and purchase of pulpit furnishings including the decorated wooden lectern. By 1896 the two leaded art glass windows were in place on the front of the church facing Michigan Street. At the rear of the building the 1849 Rear Shed was modified and small enclosure added.

5. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1900's

The church was closed for four months in 1908 for extensive repairs and alterations, most notably the construction of the rear brick addition for the new baptistery. The rear (east) addition was the first architect-designed building component displaying refined design and detailing particularly in the baptistery. The brick addition included two small toilet rooms in the basement with a concrete basement floor. On the main floor of the addition was the classically detailed baptism sunken metal pool surrounded by columns supporting a detailed entablature and plaster dome. The installation of the baptistry required a new opening in the east wall of the auditorium and modification to the raised east platform within the auditorium. The building was refurbished with new paint throughout. On the exterior the wooden front entry stoop with balustrade and basement entry was extensively repaired, and may have possibly been rebuilt. The front stoop's new railing had two additional turned posts and the basement doors were replaced with new horizontal panel doors. Once again the Rear Shed was modified when the 1908 addition was constructed.

6. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1910's

A fire originating in the basement in 1918 did extensive damage to the basement and auditorium. The basement Sunday school space was refurbished after the fire with a new wood ceiling. Upstairs in the auditorium the east raised platform was rebuilt with railings, a new pipe organ was installed in the northeast corner, and electrical lighting was installed (including reworking of the old gas chandelier). At this time the north gallery stairway was probably

[248] The Ambo is a raised stand used in Christian liturgy, sometimes it is portable and commonly it is a fixed-in-place lectern. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/18947/ambo.

removed. The interior received a general refurbishing after fire, including new a paint scheme that featured stenciling, polychrome cornice paint and varnishing. It is believed that a furnace was installed at this time.

7. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1920's

The 1920s alterations to the interior plan of the rear of the baptistry include reconfiguration of the rear stairway and addition of small room (Baptistry Office R108) on the main floor, creation of a passage between the basement meeting room and baptistry basement, installation of two-panel doors in the building and at the rear of the auditorium, and the addition of globe lights in the Auditorium.

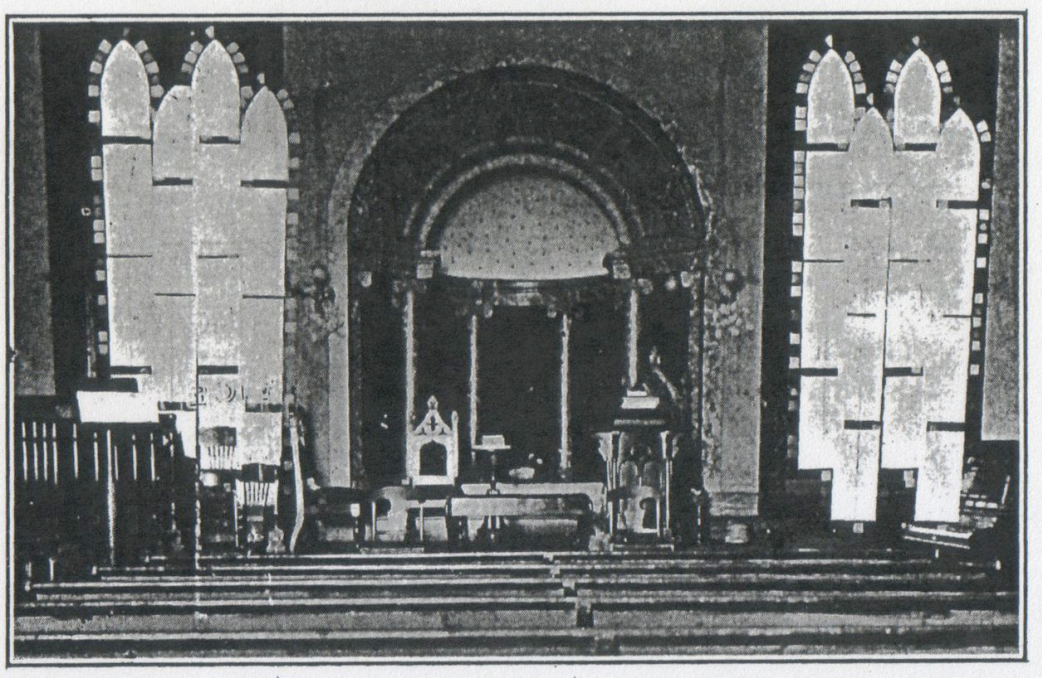


Figure 1.34: "Interior of Church and Baptistry" at the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1922. 30th Anniversary Program. Note that the lancet windows on both sides appear to have a double exposure. From Special Collections / Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

8. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1940's

Church records indicate a second fire occurred in 1946, but particulars of damage are undocumented. The coincidence of this date and the demolition of the Harris house to the north suggest a possible connection, but it is not substantiated.

The third major fire occurred in 1948. The baptistry roof was ignited by sparks from the large armory fire across Potter Street behind the church to the east. The fire intensely burned down through the roof, through the baptistry ceiling and through the top of the baptistry dome. The fire damage was confined to the rear addition, but water and smoke damage were extensive in the auditorium. The repair work included reconstruction of the baptistry roof, ceiling, baptistry dome and general finish refurbishment within the auditorium. The baptismal pool survived but the columns and much of the upper decorative woodwork and plasterwork required replacement.

9. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1950's

The exonarthex on the facade of the building was constructed in 1952 based on building permit information available from the City of Buffalo. The projecting exonarthex structure was attached to the front of the 1849 facade impacting the 1849 church entrance, stoop, basement entrance, interior narthex and the general visual character of both interior and exterior of the church. The 1849 main entrance doors and masonry, front entry stoop and stairs, front basement entry, and interior middle section of the narthex were removed. The new entry had exterior brick walls with a front parapet gable over the new entry doorway. The 1845 split stone foundation on the front of the building was parged. Within the new exonarthex masonry shell were constructed new entry doors, a steel pan stairway to basement and main floor, a small basement foyer, an auditorium foyer with doors to the north, south and auditorium. All the clear finished woodwork and polychrome paint schemes were replaced with white paint throughout.

10. El Bethel Assembly - Light of the World Missions, 1970's-1990's

Beginning in 1975 the El Bethel congregation as the new owners made many repairs to the church, and performed mostly cosmetic refurbishment. In the auditorium knotty pine paneling was added to the sidewalls, the east raised platform was reconfigured, hardboard paneling was installed on the plaster walls above the gallery and hardboard paneling was installed under the auditorium windows. The walls of the exonarthex also had knotty pine paneling installed as well as a suspended grid ceiling. The baptistry was repainted and the pews were removed from the gallery and oriented strand board (OSB) placed on the floor of the tiered gallery. In the basement of the baptistry the two toilet rooms were enlarged with modern hardboard surfaces and suspended ceilings. In the basement the kitchen was expanded to the south and opened up to the meeting room by removing a section of wall and installing service counters. The small utility room in the southeast corner of the basement was constructed.

11. El Bethel Assembly - Light of the World Missions, 2000's

Between 2002 and 2009 two significant rehabilitation campaigns on the building and extensive site work were completed to address serious deterioration issues and various cosmetic concerns.

About 2003 the roof timber structure, roof decking, and new roofing as well as some critical brick repair was completed. On the interior the auditorium received a new set of entry doors, and a drywall ceiling was installed over the 1849 flat plaster ceiling with new center plaster ring and new ceiling lighting. A new furnace and steel chimney were installed and general refurbishing efforts were undertaken.

Between August of 2007 and July of 2010 the rehabilitation project using NYS ORPHP EPF grant funds included additional truss work in the attic, brick repair, foundation parging repair, and new Marvin custom insulated windows that were installed in all but five of the masonry openings. On the interior additional work was done to the east raised auditorium platform and lectern, new re-purposed oak pews placed in the Auditorium, new carpeting was installed and the entire interior was repainted.

CHAPTER TWO: DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF BUILDING FABRIC

A. Architectural Descriptions

1. Exterior

a. Front/West Facade:

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

The symmetrical west gable end wall of the Michigan Street Baptist Church was constructed between 1845 and 1849. The brick upper section was approximately 22' tall and 36' long resting upon a five foot high raised rubble split limestone foundation with a limestone watertable. The three wythes thick brick wall was laid in American common bond with flush lime-based mortar joints. The two round arch top front windows were located within two brick recessed panel sections; each recessed panel had a simple brick denticulation at the top. Centered on the flush section of the brick facade between the two recessed panels was a tall round arch doorway with a pair of six-panel bolection molded wood doors, and a matching four-panel bolection molded insert in the transom area. Centered above the door was a flush rectangular stone plaque approximately 28" high by 72" long with incised lettering noting the name of the church and the 1845 date. In the center of the flush brick gable was located a round window, approximately 44" in diameter, with a simple four light wood sash.

Figure 2.1: West Elevation, 2012.

The large two-story windows, located in the recessed panels, were constructed with flush round arch brick headers and a hammered limestone sill. Within the masonry openings were a wood window frame with large wood double-hung sash. There were no exterior blinds. At the basement level aligned under the main windows were two windows in the foundation with a ±12" high stone lintel and 3/6 double hung wood sash.

Centered on the main entry door was a projecting wood porch deck with symmetrical wood stairs from grade to the deck. Two small square brick piers supported the deck. In between the piers centered under the deck was a pair of two-panel wood doors leading what we believe to have been stone steps or possibly wood steps leading down to a basement entrance door in the foundation wall. A continuous wood railing with two large turned newels at the base of the porch stairs extended up, across the front of the deck and down the other steps. Centered under the main front door (and under porch) was a single cellar basement doorway in the foundation which also had a ±12" high stone lintel and a hammered limestone doorsill at the basement floor level. Each basement window had a stone sill, window well, and a wood double-hung window.

The projecting raking roof eaves were of simple wood construction with a flat raking fascia board, a small crown molding, most likely a flat tongue and groove board rake soffit, a small bed molding located at the intersection of soffit and the masonry wall, and no cornice returns.

1885 Work

It appears that little change occurred to the facade other than routine maintenance during this period.

1890s Work

By 1896 the original double-hung sash in the two large round arch top windows, W101 and W113, had been replaced with new wood sash with leaded glass. The entire field of both windows is a geometric pattern with no glass paints used in fabrication, and the matrix is "H" profile lead came. The glass is machine made, double rolled cathedral-type glass.

1908 Work

On the west facade the original wood entry porch was altered or may possibly have been rebuilt. Photographic evidence shows the addition of two new turned posts in the railing at the top of the stairs at this time. Other work on the porch included the replacement of the pair of basement doors with new horizontal four-panel doors, reconstruction of the porch trim eliminating the curved corner head trim above the basement doors, and replacement of the diamond lattice under the stairs with new square lattice.

Figure 2.2: Detail from Figure 1.23 showing original 1849 wood panel doors to Church at first floor level (upper left), the wood entry porch, brick pier, and the 1908 turned posts at the top of the flight of stairs. Photograph is c.1911-1930. From Library of Congress, Nannie Helen Burroughs Collection.

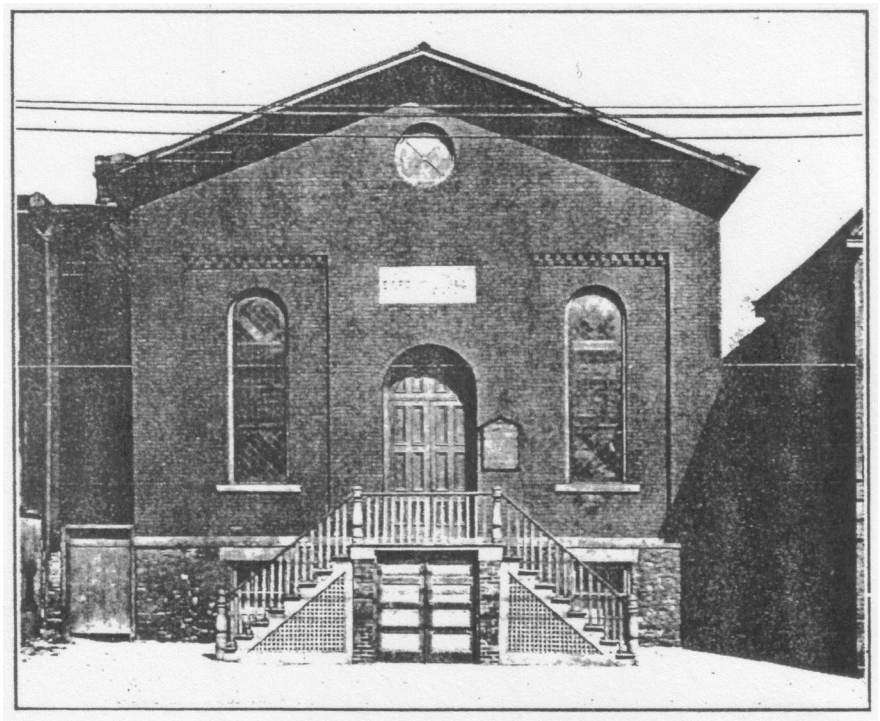


Figure 2.3: West Elevation. Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1930. "The Year of Jubilee: 1880-1930" Buffalo Baptist Union. From Special Collections / Buffalo and Erie County Public Library.

Post 1908 –1932 Work

Photographic evidence shows that by 1932 the porch was once again modified. New wood ball-topped square posts and square spindles replaced the earlier ones. At the same time the panel doors to the basement entrance were replaced with doors having yet again a different panel configuration. The 1932 photograph commemorating Rev. Nash's 40th anniversary at the church illustrates good detail of the railing, but unfortunately obscures the door design except for the top 16".

1952 Work

The masonry Exonarthex was added to the front of the building during the 1952 renovations. The 1849 front doors, porch, steps, and basement entrance were removed. No physical evidence of removed materials (i.e. the doors, trim, spindles, etc.) has been found at the site. Refer to Exonarthex discussion below.

1970s Work

Two basement windows were replaced with new glass block.

2000s Work

Two separate renovation projects were completed between 2002-2010 that impacted both interior spaces and nearly every exterior element. The brick was repaired and extensive foundation parging was repaired and replaced. Basement windows were replaced with new aluminum clad wood 3/1 double hung sash and new security grills were installed. The two large leaded glass windows, W101 and W113, were restored and/or replicated as some portions of the leaded window were missing. The masonry facade was prepped and repainted with a uniform dark red latex paint during the 2007 project. The roof cornice (fascia, soffit, etc.) was replaced with a new fascia board, the historic fascia was removed, and a new metal drip edge installed under the 2002 project.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Elevations: The historic 1849 gable west wall elevation and the non-historic projecting 1952 gabled Exonarthex remain in place.

Roof Eaves: The general form of the 1849 west wall projecting raking cornice remains in place (though the original wood fascia board has been replaced and the crown molding removed). The original bedmolding remains at the intersection of the facade and soffit. The 1952 Exonarthex roof parapet remains in place as reconstructed during the 2007 project.

Walls: The original 1849 and 1952 brick walls remain as repaired in 2002-2010.

Foundation: The 1845 stone foundations with 1952 and 2007 parging have been repaired and new parging installed. The 1952 Exonarthex foundations remained in place.

Windows:

W101 & W113: The windows consist of the tall 1849 masonry opening with 1849 trim and jambs. The 1896 stained glass windows, restored during the 2007 project, are in place with protective glazing panels over each window.

WB01 & WB11: These are both original masonry openings but no historic window components exist.

WA02 at Attic: In 2007 the small round window wood jambs and frame within the 1849 masonry opening were repaired. The round wood four light window sash was reconstructed and installed during the 2007 project.

Figure 2.4: Window WA01 at West Elevation. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.5: Centered above the original door on the West Elevation is a flush rectangular stone plaque approximately 28" high by 72" long with incised lettering noting the name of the church and the 1845 date. Photo 2012.

Doors: No historic doors remain. The 1952 Exonarthex doors were repaired in 2007. See also the Exonarthex documentation.

Finishes: No paint testing was completed during this report. Possible locations of original or early trim colors may be evident on the remaining cornice bedmolding and possibly on the wood trim of W101 and W113.

b. North & South Elevations:

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

The north and south brick sidewalls of the church were virtual reverse images of each other when constructed between 1845 and 1849. The brick facade was approximately 22' and 50' long resting upon a 5' high raised rubble split limestone foundation with no watertable. The unarticulated three wythes thick brick wall was laid in American common bond with flush lime-based mortar joints.

Two large 5' wide x 13' high two-story windows were located on each wall with a ±10 1/2" high timber flush lintel across the top of the opening and hammered limestone sill. Within the brick opening was a wood window frame with large double-hung sash. There were no exterior blinds. At the basement level there were two dissimilar windows, WB02 & WB03, in the foundation on the north wall each with a 12" high stone lintel and one window, WB10, in the foundation on the south wall with a smaller 6" high stone lintel. Each basement window had a window well and stone sill. Within the masonry opening was a wood double-hung window.

The north and south elevation roof eaves were of wood construction with a flat fascia board, a small crown molding, most likely a flat tongue and groove board soffit, and a small bed molding located at the intersection of soffit and the masonry wall. At the front of the building the roof's raking eaves projected beyond the brick front wall about 12". The condition of rear (east) roof raking eaves is unknown and no physical or photographic documentation has been found. Roof water drainage systems are undocumented.

1885 Work

It appears that little change occurred to the side elevations other than routine maintenance up through the 1880s. In 1885 the wood double-hung sash in the tall First Floor windows, W102 and W103, were replaced with paired lancet topped wood windows. The surrounding small square glass panes in the windows were tinted.

1908 Work

In 1908 the baptistry addition was built at the rear (east) of the building. The 1908 north brick wall of the addition had four windows, two on the main story (W106 and W107) and two at grade (WB04 and WB05). The south elevation had two windows at grade level (WB07 and WB08), no windows were installed on the First Floor on the South Elevation. The 1908 exterior brick walls were unarticulated brick with shallow segmental arches over the windows. The brickwork extended up behind a flat board roof fascia set flush to the facade. The brick walls rested on a rubble stone foundation with top at grade.

1918 Work

By 1918 a new exterior brick chimney had been installed against the north exterior wall just west of W103.

1952 Work

In 1952 the one-story Exonarthex was added to the front of the building. The west brick wall of the Exonarthex extends up to form a small parapet. The North and South Elevations each had a single double-hung window (W114 and W115) at the first story. The small Exonarthex roof had small wood eaves and attached gutters.

On the main church the limestone foundations were parged. The 1885 wood window sash in the four tall windows (W102, W103, W111, and W112) were removed and replaced with "modern" aluminum framed stained glass windows.

Figure 2.6: North Elevation, 2012.

Figure 2.7: North Elevation of 1908 Baptistry addition, 2012.

Figure 2.8: Three-quarter view of Southeast corner, 2012.

Figure 2.9: Three-quarter view of Southeast corner, 2012. Note that the unfinished masonry building at left is the property adjacent to the church.

2000s Work

Two separate renovation projects were completed between 2002-2010 that impacted exterior elements. The 1849 brick was repointed and repaired and extensive foundation parging was repaired and replaced. No brick repair was completed on the 1908 addition sidewalls. Both front corners of the 1952 Exonarthex were extensively repaired. The 1918 brick chimney on the north wall was removed and replaced with a new metal chimney flue.

Figure 2.10: View of North facade about 2003. The 1885 wood window sash were removed in 1952 and replaced with "modern" aluminum framed stained glass windows as shown above. Photograph from "Buffalo as an Architectural Museum" website: http://www.buffaloah.com/a/mich/511/index.html.

Figure 2.11: View of northwest corner about 2003. Photograph from "Buffalo as an Architectural Museum" website: www.buffaloah.com/a/mich/511/source/9a.html

Basement windows (WB02, WB03, WB07, WB08, and WB10) were replaced with new aluminum clad wood sash. New security grills were installed on the basement windows.

First Floor windows W102, W103, W111 & W112 were replaced with new divided light aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glass during the 2007 project mimicking the 1885 paired lancet top sash. The new window units have upper and lower operable pivoting sash; the surrounding small square panes are clear glass, not tinted glass like the 1880s windows. Each masonry opening had the upper wood lintel replaced during the 2007 project.

First Floor windows W106 and W107 on the north side of the 1908 addition were replaced with new 2/1 divided light aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glass during the 2007 project.

New exterior site lighting and surface mounted electrical conduit were installed on the north wall. The masonry was prepped and repainted with a uniform dark red latex paint during the 2007 project. The roof cornice (fascia, soffit, and crown moldings) was replaced. All new pre-finished white aluminum K-style gutters and square downspouts were installed during the 2007 project.

Figure 2.12: View of limestone foundation with deteriorated parging prior to recent repairs. Photograph from "Buffalo as an Architectural Museum" website http://www.buffaloah.com/a/mich/511/source/6a.html.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Elevations: The historic 1849 rectangular north and south wall elevations, the 1908 north and south wall elevations and non-historic rectangular north and south Exonarthex elevations remain in place.

Roof Eaves: The essential form of the 1849 projecting wood overhanging eave remains in place though the original wood fascia board and crown molding have been removed. The original bedmolding remains in place at the intersection of the facade and soffit. The 1952 Exonarthex masonry roof parapet edge remain in place as reconstructed during the 2002-2010 renovations. The sloped 1908 north and south wall cornice boards appear to have been replaced in kind in the 2000s.

Walls: The original 1849, 1908 and 1952 brick walls remain as repaired in 2007.

Foundations: 1845 stone foundations remain with the non-historic 1952/2007 parging. The 1908 and 1952 foundations remained in place.

Windows: All windows currently exposed on the north and south elevations are original masonry openings but no historic window components exist, all have been replaced with new divided light aluminum clad wood replacement windows.

Doors: None.

Finishes: No historic finishes remain exposed. Possible locations of original or early trim colors may be evident on the remaining cornice bedmolding.

c. East Elevation:

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

The east brick gable end wall of the church was built between 1845 and 1849. The brick facade was approximately 22' tall and 36' long resting upon a 5' high raised rubble split limestone foundation with no watertable. The unarticulated three wythes thick brick wall was laid in American common bond with flush lime-based mortar joints.

Two large 5' wide x 13' high two-story windows were symmetrically located in the rear east wall with ±10 1/2" high timber flush lintels across the top of the openings and hammered limestone sills. Within the masonry openings were wood window frames with large double-hung sash. There were no exterior blinds.

At the basement level there was at least one (WB10), but possibly two, windows in the foundation wall with ±12" high stone lintels. A single cellar doorway (DB01) in the foundation also had a ±12" high stone lintel and a hammered limestone doorsill at the basement floor level. Each basement window had a window well and stone sill. Within the window openings was a wood double-hung window.

The historic condition of the rear (east) roof raking eave is unknown and no physical or photographic documentation has been found. It is unknown if the east building cornice was projected like the raking eave at the West Elevation, or if perhaps it was damaged in the 1948 fire and then removed, or if it simply was a flat fascia board, extending down over the brick facade similar to the existing 2013 condition.

1885 Work

It appears that little change occurred to the rear gable elevation other than routine maintenance up through the 1880s. In 1885 the wood double-hung sash

in the tall First Floor windows, W104 and W110, were replaced with paired lancet topped wood windows. The surrounding small square glass panes in the windows were tinted.

1908 Work

In 1908 the baptistry addition was built on the East Elevation at the rear of the building. The 1908 east brick facade had three windows, two on the main story (W108 and W109) and one at grade (WB06). The 1908 exterior brick wall was flat brick with shallow segmental arch masonry openings over the First Floor windows and no other articulation. The brickwork extended up behind a flat board roof edge flush with the brickwork. The brick walls rested on a rubble stone foundation with top at grade.

2000s Work

Two separate renovation projects were completed between 2002-2010 that impacted exterior elements. The southeast corner and gable section of the 1849 east brick exterior wall had extensive brick masonry repairs, from simple repointing to brick resetting and wall reconstruction. Foundation parging was repaired and replaced. Extensive rear wall brick repair and reconstruction was undertaken on nearly 100% of the 1908 wall. The masonry was prepped and repainted with a uniform dark red latex paint during the 2007 project. The roof fascia board was replaced and a large metal fascia installed. All new pre-finished white aluminum K-style gutters and square downspouts were installed during the 2007 project.

Figure 2.13: East Elevation, 2012.

Figure 2.14: Fascia and soffit at Northeast corner with chimney above, 2012.

Basement windows WB06 and WB09 were replaced with divided light aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glass during the 2007 project. WB06 is a 2/1 light and WB09 is a 4/1 configuration. New security grills were installed on the basement windows.

First Floor windows W108 and W109 on the north side of the 1908 addition were replaced with new 2/1 divided light aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glass during the 2007 project.

First Floor windows W104 and W110 in the main building were replaced with new divided light aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glass during the 2007 project mimicking the 1885 paired lancet top sash. The new window units have upper and lower operable pivoting sash; the surrounding small square panes are clear glass, not tinted glass like the 1880s windows.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Elevations: The historic 1849 gable east wall elevation and the 1908 east addition wall remain in place.

Roof Eaves: The essential form of the 1849 wood fascia remains in place though the original wood fascia board has been removed. The 1908 cornice boards appear to have been replaced in kind in the 2000s.

Walls: The original 1849 and 1908 masonry walls remain as repaired in 2007.

Foundations: The historic 1845 stone foundation remains with the non-historic 1952/2007 parging. The 1908 foundations remain in place.

Windows: All windows currently exposed on the east elevation are original masonry openings but no historic window components exist, all have been replaced with new divided light aluminum clad wood replacement windows.

Doors: The 1845 basement exterior doorway at DB01 was altered as part of the 1908 baptistry construction. It remains in place with a ±12" high stone lintel and reused door from elsewhere.

Finishes: No historic finishes remain exposed.

d. Exonarthex Exterior:

(1) Historic Development

The masonry Exonarthex[250] entrance (±11' x 9' at the exterior) was added to the front of the church in 1952.[251] Construction of the Exonarthex structure involved removal of the existing front porch entrance, cutting a nine foot wide opening into the 1849 west facade of the building and removing the main floor structure just inside the front entrance back to the Auditorium wall. A masonry shaft about 9' wide, 16' deep and about 18' high was constructed in the center of the building facade extending from the basement to the underside of the Gallery ceiling. A little more than half of it (approximately 9') projected beyond the front of the building forming the Exonarthex. The addition essentially provided a fireproof entrance/exit and circulation between the Auditorium and basement and was constructed with a concrete block foundation, brick walls and a concrete floor.

Figure 2.15: Exterior of Exonarthex view looking from Northwest, 2012.

[250] The new entrance structure historically might have been called a porch in ecclesiastic nomenclature. Both terms porch and exonarthex are defined as an enclosed entrance structure on the front of a church.

[251]City of Buffalo; Building Permit file card for 511 Michigan Street; Enlarge Masonry Church; Jan. 17. 1952; Permit No. 47877.

Several key 1849 features were removed during the 1952 construction including the basement step/stairs and brick piers under the front stoop, the masonry door opening at the foundation, the outer entrance pair of doors, and a section of narthex floor structure. Also removed were the early twentieth century wood stairways, railings and pair of c.1920s doors at the basement entry.

The Exonarthex exterior wall was constructed with hard-fired bricks with hard cement-based mortar resting on the concrete foundation wall. The sidewalls were flat brick surfaces executed in American stretcher bond extending from the foundation to the eaves with no decorative brickwork. On each of the sidewalls was a narrow single window (W114 and W115) with soldier course flat brick headers and brick sills. The front, west facing, brick wall extended up to form a raking parapet wall with a simple sheet metal cap, backside flashing and a cross at the peak. The new round arched brick front doorway within the deeply recessed archway was raised up from sidewalk grade with three stone-capped masonry steps. The lower step projected onto the sidewalk; a simple steel railing was located on each side of the masonry opening. Three corbelled inner brick arches reduced the width of the opening, the inner brick arched opening transferred to a flat brick wall (about 16" thick) into which was framed the new entrance doorway.

The simple gable roof had plain framed eaves with hung gutter and downspout at the inside corner. The peak of the roof met the main building just below the top of the 1849 front doorway brick arch. No evidence of the 1952 roof covering remains.

Figure 2.16: Exterior of church, c. 1973. Photograph from National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, NYS OPRHP.

The 1952 entrance doorway had two vertical-board faced doors with applied metal strap hinges. The large square topped doors opened to the exterior and were each hung on three mortise butt ball bearing hinges. Above the doors was a fixed semicircular clear class transom window. The entire doorway with transom was set within a deep wood doorway frame with large molded bead surrounding the opening somewhat similar to the 1849 doorway surround. Flanking the entrance were two masonry mounted exterior wall light sconces.

Stylistically the Exonarthex reflects the design and materials popular in the mid-twentieth century. It appears that the construction of the Exonarthex was to accomplish two tasks: to provide a new safe entry and circulation between floors and to "enhance", in 1950s terms, the exterior appearance of the building. The use of an Exonarthex concept met both needs and was also a traditional means to extend the front of churches. The rather vernacular facade to the 1849 building drew from several medieval influences popular in the early to mid-nineteenth century America. Likewise the design of the Exonarthex also drew from those same precedents. However the 1952 design lacks the vernacular and romantic character of the nineteenth century facade. While employing appropriate features and form, the detailing of the composition is strongly based in mid-twentieth century design jargon. It is rigid, hard and almost utilitarian in composition with very stylized and mechanical interpretation of the medieval forms. Such stylized interpretations were popular in ecclesiastical architecture of the 1950s as opposed to the less rigid vernacular designs of the 1849 building.

It is unclear if the 1952 exterior brickwork was painted as part of the construction work. Subsequently the brickwork was painted, at least by 1974, to match the main church painted facade. The 1952 wood doors, windows, trim, sheet metal cap, and eaves were painted.

2007 Work

By the late 1990s the masonry, roof and steps were deteriorated. Extensive repairs were made as part of the 2007 project including resetting brick, rebuilding the wood eaves, replacement of the roofing materials with new shingles, installation of new K-style gutters with downspouts, repair of the entry doors, window sash replacement, replacement of the stone steps with new concrete, replacement of the light fixtures, removal of the steel stair railings and installation of new iron door handles.

Windows W114 & W115 had brickwork repaired including lintels and sills, the 1952 windows were removed and new 2/1 double-hung aluminum clad wood windows with insulated glazing were installed as part of the 2007 work.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The Exonarthex exterior, with repairs, remains essentially as built in 1952 with the exception of window sash and exterior steps.

Exterior Walls: The three 1952 exterior brick masonry Exonarthex walls remain, as repaired.

Roof: The 1952 roof configuration remains in place. New asphalt shingles, roof deck repairs, flashings, eave repairs and new white aluminum K-style gutters and rectangular down spouts with straps were installed as part of the 2007 renovation project.

Windows: All windows at the Exonarthex are original masonry openings but no historic window components exist, all have been replaced with new divided light aluminum clad wood replacement windows.

Doorways: The pair of 1952 vertical board faced doors at D101 with pneumatic closers, surface strap hinges and fixed glazed arched transom remain in place. Modern locksets replace the 1952 originals with modern iron door handles on the exterior.

Lighting: The two 1952 exterior lighting sconces were replaced with new exterior lantern style wall sconces during the 2007 project.

Finishes: All finishes were repainted as part of the 2007 work.

2. Interior

a. R101 – Entry

(1) Historic Development

1952 Conditions

The masonry Exonarthex[252] (11' x 9') was added to the front of the church in 1952.[253] Construction of the new entry involved removal of the existing basement entrance with stairs, the front wood porch, and the original round arch top main entrance to the church. The new projected entrance enclosure extend into the building creating new foyers, one at the main First Floor level under the Gallery and one at the basement projecting into the Basement Meeting Room.

A steel pan stairway with landings occupied most of the Entry. It was a simple steel pan closed stair with steel risers and spandrel, plain square steel railings and wood top rail leading up to the church and down to the basement. Capped steel posts were located at the top, landing and basement. The upper run of the stairs started at the landing of Entry R101 inside the front doorway and extended up to level with the First Floor at R102 Upper Foyer. The lower run of the stairs started at the landing of Entry R101 and extended to the Basement Foyer RB01. Rooms RB01, R101 and R102 were all part of the 1952 construction. The area under Entry R101 and under the lower stair were closed off with flat finished walls. No access to the area under R101 was discovered during this investigation.

Sidewalls in 1952 were flat plaster over masonry and extended up to the plaster ceiling and down to the top of the steel stair stringers. The ceiling was flat plaster and was at the same level and contiguous with the R102 Upper Foyer ceiling.

The doorway D101 at the Entry R101 had two large out swinging vertical board faced doors with applied metal medieval style hinges and a semicircular clear glass transom window overhead.

On each of the sidewalls was a narrow single window (W114 & W115) with wood double-hung sash.

The floor was concrete with resilient tile and linoleum on the stair treads.

[252] The new entrance structure historically might have been called a porch in ecclesiastic nomenclature. Both terms porch and exonarthex are defined as an enclosed entrance structure on the front of a church.

[253] City of Buffalo; Building Permit file card for 511 Michigan Street; Enlarge Masonry Church; Jan. 17. 1952; Permit No. 47877.

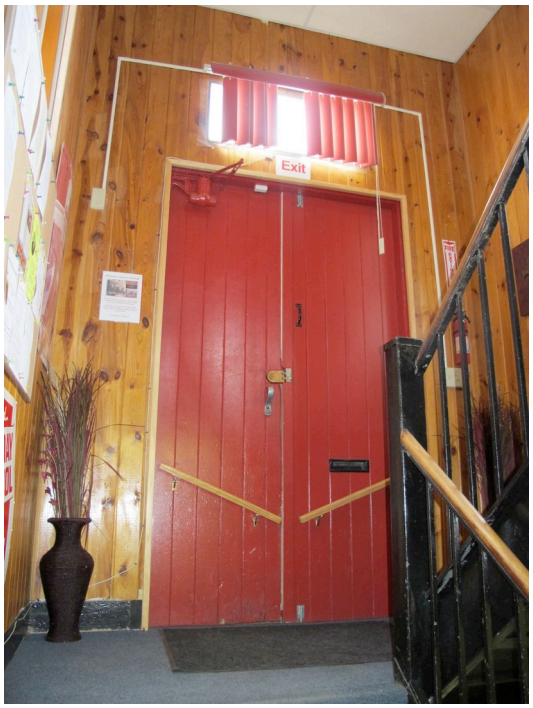


Figure 2.17: Entry R101, looking at D101. The Entry is part of the Exonarthex and was constructed in 1952. Photograph 2012.

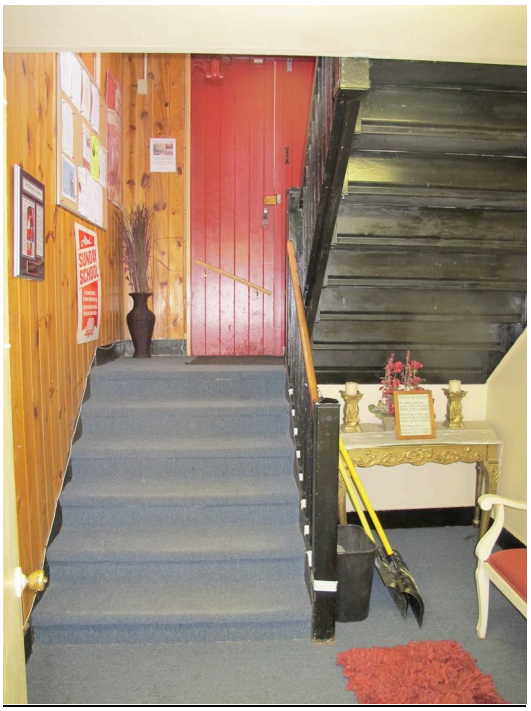


Figure 2.18: Basement Foyer RB01 and Entry R101, looking west toward D101. These two spaces are part of the Exonarthex constructed in 1952. Photo 2012.

Post 1975 Renovations

The walls were covered post-1975 with v-groove knotty pine vertical tongue and groove board paneling that extended from ceiling to baseboard.[254] The paneling appears to have been installed over furring strips and extended across the front wall. On the north and south sidewalls it extended to the top of the stairway at the edge of R102. Above the entry door D101 the wood board paneling was framed over portions of the semi-circular transom window creating a horizontal rectangular opening on the interior face.

A suspended ceiling with recessed light panels was installed post-1975 about 10" below the plaster ceiling.

Commercial carpeting has been installed over the stair risers and treads and over the Entry tile and upper landing tile.

Modern surface mounted molded wireway and fixtures have been installed on the west wall.

2007 Work

The two 1952 windows W114 and W115 were replaced during the 2007 project with new 2/1 aluminum clad double-hung insulated glass sash units. The interior edge of the window opening had a wood molding installed to cover the transition between the interior paneling and the 1952 painted window reveals.

[254] Documentation of post-1975 alterations at the church are based on interviews with Bishop William Henderson, August 17, 2012 and September 25, 2012.

The new window units have a flat board component covering most of the 1952 reveal. The old painted reveal and edge board remain.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The interior of R101 remains essentially as built in 1952 with the exception of surface materials and finishes.

Room Plan: The rectangular room plan with stairway remain as constructed in 1952.

Ceiling: The original plaster ceiling remains in place above the suspended acoustic ceiling. The suspended ceiling panels are of varying designs.

Walls: The original plaster on masonry wall surfaces remain in place behind the post-1975 wood paneling.

Floors: Original concrete flooring with resilient flooring remains in place on the landings, stair treads and basement space under the modern glued down commercial carpeting.

Windows: W114 & W115: Both 1952 window openings have 2007 wood double-hung sash units in place. No evidence of earlier window sash remains.

Doorway: D101, the pair of 1952 vertical board doors with pneumatic closers remains in place. Modern locksets replace the originals. The 1952 glazed transom panel remains in place with post 1975 interior paneling squaring off the opening. The doors and frame are painted a brilliant red.

Stairway: The 1952 steel pan stair with steel rail and wood top remains in place with modern carpeting over the stair treads and risers.

b. R102 – Upper Foyer

(1) Historic Development

The Upper Foyer R102 as presently configured in 2013 was part of the 1952 Exonarthex construction and occupies the space at the top of the stairs providing a foyer before entering the Auditorium. R102 was carved out of the original 1849 narthex space. The entire space was rebuilt as part of the 1952 work removing all earlier work in this area. The masonry stairway shaft appears to have been an effort at fire protection utilizing fire resistant materials in the construction.

R102 is a utilitarian space and is characteristic of 1950s retrofit designs. In 1952 the Upper Foyer along with the Entry R101 and Basement Foyer RB01, displayed hard flat wall and ceiling surfaces, resilient flooring, steel staircase, simple wood flat board trim and solid fire doors exiting the entry foyer space.

The Upper Foyer was a small rectangular spatial extension of the R101 Entry. A pair of double doors led into the Auditorium and single doors lead into both the Northwest Room R103 and the Southwest Room R104. Refer also to Narthex for discussion of this space prior to 1952.

The 1952 walls were flat plaster over masonry like those found in R101 with 6" flat board baseboard. The ceiling was flat plaster. A suspended acoustic ceiling with recessed light was installed post 1975.

The 1952 foyer floor was concrete with resilient tile and later covered with modern carpeting over the tile contiguous with the carpeting in R101.

Figure 2.19: Upper Foyer looking East, 2012.

The space had three doorways (D102, D104 and D109) with 1952 doors and hardware.

D102 – A single 1952 doorway within the masonry wall. The opening had 4" flat board trim, steel jamb and a mahogany faced solid core rated door. Hardware was a typical brass utilitarian style residential passage set and brass hinges. The flat board trim had a trabeated top piece with angled overburden.

D104 – There was no doorway at D104 prior to 1952. When the 1952 foyer was built a pair of rated solid core doors were installed in this location. The 1952 doorway had 4" flat board trim, steel casing and a pair of mahogany faced solid core rated doors. The doors had a small diamond shaped window in the upper section of the door. Hardware was typical utilitarian style. The flat board trim had a trabeated top piece with angled overburden. The doors were the same as found in D105.[255] As part of the 2007 work, the existing multi-pane wood French doors, trim and hardware were installed removing the 1952 doors and trim. The new doorway includes clear finished manufactured molded trim, doors, and jamb. New hardware includes tubular levers and brass-finished hinges.

D109 – A single 1952 doorway within the masonry wall. The opening had 4" flat board trim, steel jamb and a mahogany faced solid core rated door. Hardware was a typical brass utilitarian style residential passage set and brass hinges. The flat board trim had a trabeated top piece with angled overburden. The 1952 cased doorway opening for D109 remains in place. The door itself and hardware have been removed.

It appears that all of the plaster work was painted, wood doors, trim and baseboards were dark stained with a clear finish and the floor had resilient linoleum.

[255] Interview with Bishop William Henderson, August 2012.

Figure 2.20: Photo taken at base of D105 casing and at historic wood baseboard, 2012

Figure 2.21: Original 1849 1" thick tongue and groove, 10" wide board flooring in R104 Southwest Room under carpet, 2012.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The utilitarian interior of R102 remains essentially as built in 1952 including the c.1975 and c.2007 alterations.

Room Plan: The 1952 rectangular room plan remains essentially as built in 1952 with the exception of surface materials and finishes.

Ceiling: The 1952 flat plaster ceiling remains in place above the suspended acoustic tile ceiling.

Walls: The 1952 flat plaster wall surfaces remain in place on all three walls with 5" flat board baseboard.

Floors: Original concrete flooring with resilient flooring remains in place under the modern glued down commercial carpeting.

Windows: None.

Doorways: Three 1952 doorways openings remain with alterations. D102 is the only remaining original 1952 door.

Finishes: Plaster surfaces and some wood surfaces have multiple coats of paint. D104 with trim has clear coat finish.

c. Room R102, R103, R104 & R104a / Historic Narthex of 1849-1952

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions at Narthex

The original 1849 Narthex was a long and narrow space, approximately 27' x 8', which extended along front of the building under the Gallery and was partitioned off from the Auditorium by a wood frame wall with two doorways at D103 and D105. At each end were enclosed stairways leading up to the Gallery. On the west wall of the original Narthex were the large historic front doors leading out to the porch and the two front windows, W101 and W113.

The Narthex as configured in 1849 had a sawn lath and flat plaster ceiling. Flat plaster walls were in place above a deep flat baseboard with a molded cap. Evidence of the baseboard with molded cap was found during the HSR investigation. Doors, windows and trim were consistent with period features in the other areas of the main floor of the church. The tall pair of front doors appears to have extended from First Floor to the ceiling of the Narthex.

Entrance Doorway: The 1849 front doors were a matched pair of tall six panel doors as described previously. It appears that the panels in the transom area over the doors on the exterior were obscured at the interior as they would have been above the Narthex ceiling and concealed behind the Gallery. The front doors opened into the Narthex space. The large proportions of the doorway would suggest that the interior trim matched the large casings at windows W101 and W113. The doorway, double doors, and trim were all removed in 1952. No physical evidence remains.

Narthex Doorways: Interior 1849 Narthex doorways were mortised and tenon with six equal sized flat recessed vertical panels with no panel moldings. The doors would have been hung on two heavy five knuckle fixed pin cast iron butt hinges with a mortise lock, plain cast iron roses and brown mineral knobs. The doorways were trimmed with a canted wide flat board trim with canted flat backband and shouldered trim at the top. The trim in R103 & R104 was not

shouldered. There were six doorways in the 1849 Narthex including D103, D105, D106, D107 plus two doors in the north end of the room mirroring D106 and D107.

1849 Windows: The 1849 tall front windows were large double-hung units with nine individual glass panes in both the upper and lower halves. The square topped sash appears to have had a round top glass opening in the upper sash. Within the jambs were located sash pulleys used as a counter weight system. The trim matched the 1849 flat board trim with backband as found on the Auditorium windows. These two windows passed up behind the Gallery ceiling truncating the interior face trim. The window sill was a deep thick flat squared board with flat board trim underneath.

Flooring: The flooring in 1849 consisted of 1" thick tongue and groove 10" wide boards, with flooring laid in an east to west direction.

R104a Under Stair Closet: The space labeled as R104a is an original 1849 space located under the Stair to the Gallery and accessed from the original Narthex (now part of R104) by doorway D106. The closet was finished with plaster walls above a simple flat baseboard and plaster on the underside of the sloping stair. A short wall seals off the western most section under the stairway. The floor is part of the 1849 wide tongue and groove flooring as noted above.

As part of the replacement of the box pews c.1889, the floor was altered in the Auditorium to accommodate for the flooring within the box pew. The aisle, front of the church and the Narthex flooring was about 1 ½" lower than the areas where the box pews had been. To accommodate the different floor heights when the box pews were removed, the lower levels of floor in the aisles, front of the church and Narthex were raised about 1 ½" to the same level as the box pew flooring. The new flooring was 3/4" thk. x 6" wide tongue and groove board flooring installed in the same direction as the 1849 flooring.

The Narthex and this closet space appear to have had little work done other than paint and general maintenance during the early period. In all likelihood when the gas lighting was installed in the church in the 1850s, there were probably several lighting fixtures installed in the Narthex.

1890s Work

1896 brought the replacement of the 1849 large double hung clear glass windows (W101 and W113) in the west wall of the church with new tall leaded glass windows as previously described above. Instead of two sliding sash, the new leaded glass wood sash did not operate and were fixed in place in the outer sash track of the 1849 windows. The interior trim of the windows remained with no changes and the inside 1849 sash track remained in place. Like the 1849 wood sash, the interior of the leaded glass sash had a square top inset with a round top glazed section to accommodate the round top brick arch at the exterior.

1908 Work

No work is documented in the Narthex at this time however general refurbishing probably occurred coincident with the baptistry installation.

1918 Work

It appears that this may be the period in which the north Gallery stair and enclosure were removed, coinciding with other church changes possibly connected with the repairs after the fire. Further documentation to substantiate the period of the north Narthex stair removal is warranted.

After the 1918 fire the 1849 doors located at D103 and D105 were replaced with a two-panel door and hardware and retained the 1849 jamb and frame. These doors had a molded stile and rail profile with recessed panels.

1948 Work

The 1948 fire does not appear to have impacted the Narthex.

1952 Work

The new Exonarthex was built on the front of the church in 1952. It created a new entry, stairway and foyer as one space within the new masonry structure. See previous discussion above.

As part of major project the long narrow 1849 Narthex was partitioned off into three spaces R102, R103, and R104. The northwest room R103 became an office and the southwest room R104 a small choir robing space. R102 became the Upper Foyer.

The new structure was a masonry rectangular shaft that was inserted into the front of the historic 1849 building front with modern materials. All earlier, historic materials that fell within the Narthex space were removed.

Post-1975 Work

General refurbishing of interiors was undertaken with new paint and other finishes. The removal of the door and hardware from D109, installation of a suspended acoustic tile ceiling, new molding in R103, and partial removal of deteriorated leaded glass at the windows occurred during this period. New non-historic paneling was installed on the walls and ceiling in closet R104a.

2000s Work

As part of the extensive building renovation program between 2002 and 2010 several modifications were completed in the narthex area including the installation of a new pair of doors at D104 at the Upper Foyer, reconstruction and restoration of the leaded glass windows W101 and W113, and carpeting installed throughout the area.

(2) Existing Historic Components

R102 / Upper Foyer

See separate description for room R102 / Upper Foyer.

R103 / Northwest Room

The Northwest Room R103 was originally the north end of the Narthex and after 1952 it was partitioned off and became an office.

Room Plan: The rectangular office plan was created as part of the 1952 work with the new (south) masonry wall separating the spaces. The 1849 north Gallery stairway against the north wall had been previously removed.

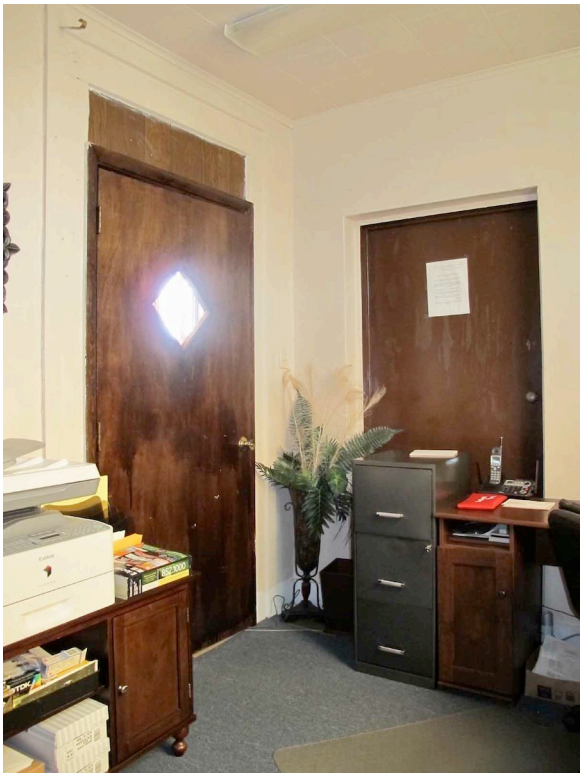


Figure 2.22: R103 – Northwest Room looking toward D103 on left and D102 on right. Note historic original casing on D103.

Walls: The 1849 flat plaster walls remain in place on the north, west and east walls. The 1952 south wall has flat plaster over masonry. Using a raking light one can see "ghosts", i.e. physical evidence, in the plaster on the north wall that shows where the stair stringer was attached and infilled with plaster after the stairs were removed.

Baseboard: The 1849 flat baseboard with molded cap remains in place on portions of the east and west walls. When the stairway enclosure was removed no baseboard was installed. On the north section of the east wall reused beadboard was installed horizontally where the stairway enclosure had been.

Ceiling: The 1849 flat plaster ceiling remains above a c.1970s acoustic tile ceiling and cove molding. The ceiling tiles cover the patch in the north end of the ceiling where the stairway was located.

Flooring: Several layers of flooring remain including the 1" thk. 1849 tongue and groove flooring under the 3/4" x 6" 1889 tongue and groove flooring that is under the early twentieth century 1/2" thk. x 2 ½" wide oak hardwood strip flooring. Non-historic carpet has been installed.

Gallery Stairway: Only plaster and wall "ghost" evidence remains to indicate where the north Gallery Stairway was located. In the corners are remnants of some bead board material that appears to have been left exposed at the time of the removal of the stairway.

Doorways: Two doorways remain.

D102: A non-historic 1952 solid door with metal jamb and lockset with brass knob. A plaster reveal at the wall forms a recess within which the doorway frame is set.

D103: An original 1849 doorway opening with historic 1849 trim and jamb in place. The trim within this room was not shouldered. The 1849 six-panel door was replaced after the 1918 fire with a two-panel door filling the entire 1849 opening. As part of the 1952 work a modern non-historic solid-core dark stained door with a diamond shape window,

ranch trim and hardware was installed. The standard sized door was smaller than the 1849 doorway opening and modern inset trim and paneling reduced the size of the doorway opening leaving the 1849 trim in place.

Window: W101: The window consists of the lower section of the tall 1849 front window opening with 1849 trim and jambs. The reconstructed 1896 leaded glass window is in place.

Finishes: Historic period finishes are concealed behind modern paint finishes on the wall plaster and wood details. Historic period finishes are concealed behind the modern ceiling and modern flooring materials. Faux grain painting is evident under paint layers on wood features. Further testing of historic finishes could provide additional information regarding modification periods in this room.

R104 / Southwest Room

The Southwest Room R104 was originally the south end of the Narthex and after 1952 it was partitioned off and became a robing area.

Room Plan: The rectangular office plan was created as part of the 1952 work with the north masonry wall separating the spaces. The 1849 south Gallery stairway enclosure remains across the south end of the room.

Walls: The 1849 flat plaster walls with 1849 molded baseboard remain in place on the south, west and east walls. The 1952 masonry north masonry wall has a flat plaster surface.

Ceiling: The 1849 flat plaster ceiling remains in place.

Flooring: Several layers of flooring remain including the 1" thk. 1849 tongue and groove flooring under the 3/4" x 6" 1889 tongue and groove flooring that is under the early twentieth century 1/2" thk. x 2 ½" wide oak hardwood strip flooring. Non-historic carpet has been installed.

Gallery Stairway: The enclosed Gallery stairway has a doorway D107 and doorway D106 to an under stair Closet R104a.

Doorways: There are four doorways in the room.

D109: A non-historic 1952 doorway with metal jamb. A hard plaster reveal forms a recess within which the doorway frame is set in the south 1952 masonry wall. The door itself has been removed. It was the same design as the 1952 period door located in D102.

D105: An original 1849 doorway opening with 1849 unshouldered trim and jamb in place. The 1849 six-panel door was replaced after the 1918 fire with a two-panel door filling the entire 1949 opening. As part of the 1952 work a modern solid-core dark stained door with diamond shape window, ranch trim and hardware was installed. The standard sized door was smaller than the 1849 doorway opening and modern inset trim and paneling reduced the size of the doorway opening leaving the 1849 trim in place.

D106: One of only two surviving six panel wood doors in the entire building. Diminutive typical 1849 six-panel interior door with 1849 trim and hardware, see description for D107.

Figure 2.23: View in Southwest Room - R104, showing D107.

D107: One of only two surviving six panel wood doors in the entire building. Full sized typical 1849 six panel interior door with 1849 unshouldered trim and hardware. The mortise and tenon constructed door had six flat vertical panels recessed on both sides with stiles and rail reveal edges canted. The 1849 period trim matches that found on D105. At the bottom of the door the first step of the Gallery stairway projects from the wall. The 1849 hardware consists of three cast iron five knuckle fixed pin butt hinges, a mortised cast iron passage set with plain cast iron rose, an iron spindle and Bennington-type swirled brown mineral porcelain knobs. The obverse side cast iron roses were replaced with embossed iron roses later in the nineteenth century. A mortise cut in the stile above the passage set indicated the presence of a horizontal closet dead lock; the lock has been removed.

Window: W113: The window consists of the lower section of the tall 1849 front window opening with 1849 trim and jambs. The reconstructed 1896 leaded stained glass window is in place.

Finishes: Historic period finishes are concealed behind modern paint finishes on the wall plaster and wood details. Historic period finishes are concealed behind the modern ceiling and modern flooring materials. Faux grain painting is evident under paint layers on wood features. Further testing of historic finishes could provide additional information regarding modification periods in this room.

R104a Closet

The closet under the south Gallery Stair R104a has remained in place as a closet since its construction in 1849. It is a small rectangular closet with stair run ascending above from the west to the east.

The 1849 flat plaster wall and ceiling surfaces, 1849 board flooring and 1849 doorway D106 remain in place. The baseboard has been removed and the plaster surfaces covered with an embossed hardboard[256] paneling.

In the southeast corner of the closet, where the south masonry wall has bulged out, is an example of the tongue and groove wainscot that extends around the Auditorium.

Figure 2.24: Example of tongue and groove wainscoting in R104a Closet. Photograph 2012.

Figure 2.25: Example of tongue and groove wainscoting concealed behind embossed hardboard paneling in R106 Auditorium. Photograph 2012.

d. R105 – Stair

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

At each end of the 1849 narthex were enclosed stairways leading up to the Gallery.

The two 1849 enclosed stairways were entered by doorways close to the west wall of the Narthex. A run of winder steps led to a straight flight of stairs against the outside wall that terminated at the front tier landing of the Gallery at the upper level. At the Narthex level the stair was enclosed and at the Gallery

[256] Hardboard is an engineered dense fiberboard, typically 1/4" thick. It is sometimes referred to as High Density Fiberboard (HDF) and is also frequently referred to as Masonite, which is the proprietary name of this type of fiberboard made by one company.

level the sidewalls extended up to form a solid railing around the top of the stairway openings.

The Narthex end walls closing off the stairways and closets were typical 1849 interior walls with flat plaster surface, finished with baseboard with molded cap and two period doorways. The stairway had wood stairs, a vertical board inboard wall and flat plaster exterior walls.

The Narthex, Gallery and Stairways appear to have had little work done other than probably paint and general maintenance until 1918 when the entire north stairway, walls, framing and materials were removed. At the Gallery level the tiered floor sections were extended to cover where the stairway had been located. At the Narthex the plaster walls were repaired and flooring repaired but the baseboards remain truncated clearly showing the position of the removed stairway.

Figure 2.26: Stair R105, looking down from Gallery above. 2012.

Post-1975 Work

General refurbishing of interiors was undertaken with new paint and other finishes. Embossed hardboard paneling was installed on the plaster exterior walls of the stairway and iron pipe handrails were installed on the exterior walls.

(2) Existing Historic Components

1849 Stair

The stairway occupied the south end of the 1849 narthex and provided vertical circulation to the 1849 Gallery above. Other than maintenance repairs and re-painting the space remains essentially as built.

Room Plan: The 1849 rectangular stairway space occupied the south end of the former Narthex with enclosed wood stairway penetrating the Gallery floor as an open stairway above.

Walls: The 1849 flat plaster walls remain in place on the south and west walls and below the narthex ceiling level on the north wall. Above the Gallery sub-floor level on the north wall a vertical tongue and groove board wall extended up to form an enclosed knee wall around the top of the stairway opening, the board wall has a square wood top rail. The board rail rests on a horizontal flat board extending across the Gallery sub-floor framing level. As part of the 1970s work, hardboard was nailed over the 1849 plaster on the south and west walls. The 1849 walls remain in place.

Baseboard: None.

Ceiling: The 1849 flat plaster ceiling above the open stairway is part of the Auditorium ceiling.

Stairway: The original 1849 stairway remains in place. The 1849 wood stairway has board treads with square edge nosing, flat board risers between closed wood stringers. There were four winder steps at the bottom with one step projecting out into the room under door D107.

Doorway: The stairway has one historic doorway.

> D107: An original 1849 doorway opening with an 1849 period door, hardware, trim and jamb remain in place with narrow flat board trim on the stair side. See D107 description in R104 discussion.

Windows: None.

Finishes: Historic period finishes are concealed behind modern paint finishes on the wall plaster and wood details. Existing paint finishes are post 1975 applications. Further testing of historic finishes could provide additional information regarding early and/or original paint finishes in the Church.

e. R106 - Auditorium

(1) Historic Development

1849-1860s Conditions

As noted the first years of worship (1845-1849) were held in the basement while funding and materials were gathered to complete the main story of the church. Above the stone foundation the 1849 two-story sanctuary or Auditorium[257] was built.

The congregation struggled throughout the nineteenth century to make ends meet and to raise funds for the church and improvements. Their house of worship was dedicated in 1849 with great celebration. The new church and worship space were received as a huge accomplishment and success for the church. However, notes indicate that the Auditorium was still not completely finished and several items were not completed until 1851;gas lighting was installed in 1856. It is evident that the congregation moved forward in small steps as funding was available.

The finished church, while restrained in its decorative materials, reflected popular design trends of the 1840s referencing both Greek revival and

[257] In Protestant churches of the mid to late nineteenth century, the worship space was often collectively referred to as the sanctuary or auditorium. In this report we use the term Auditorium because of Rev. Nash's use of the term auditorium to mean the worship space occupying the main story of Michigan Street Baptist Church.

Romantic stylistic trends. Very much in the vernacular on the exterior, the interior detailing and features could have been found in any smaller church of the period. In the Auditorium the bold plaster cornice, plaster cove window labels, the flat wide board trim with flat board backband, the six panel doors, tall double-hung windows and pew plan could have been found in any local church with Greek revival or Romantic revival styles from the mid century. The building was distinguished by its simplicity.

As built the volume of the 1849 Auditorium consisted of a two-story rectangular box (approximately 47'-6" long x 33'-9" wide x 20'-8" high) and occupying the entire main block of the church with a 12' deep Gallery[258] extending across the west end of the space over the Narthex. The layout of the Auditorium was typical of protestant churches in mid-nineteenth century America in that what was traditionally called the chancel (the area in the front of the building from where the service was conducted) and the nave (the area where the congregation sat facing the chancel) were not architecturally distinct. Traditional terminology used for this collective space was the Auditorium, including both the celebrant and congregation space as one. The wall behind the chancel or at the front of the Auditorium was historically referred to as the east wall, regardless of actual direction.

Figure 2.27: View looking East in Auditorium, 2012.

The layout of the Michigan Street Baptist Church Auditorium was quite typical for the period with rows of box pews.[259] The initial pews were aligned facing the east wall with two aisles and two doorways in the rear from the Narthex. In

[258] Gallery is the common ecclesiastical term used for balcony. They are interchangeable.

[259] The term Box Pew used here is in the more traditional sense of rows of enclosed pews with doors on the aisle ends usually not locked. This type of enclosed pew was found throughout American churches from the end of the eighteenth century up through the middle of the nineteenth century. It is not to be confused with an earlier traditional Box Pew where the pews faced each other within an enclosed paneled box often found in traditional New England meeting houses.

front of the east wall it appears that there was a raised platform from which services were conducted. This centerpiece would have included an ambo and related furnishings necessary to conduct the service. It is not documented if the raised platform extended all the way across the east wall or not. More traditional arrangements with the types of pews in an auditorium may have provided for several rows of pews or a square of pews in the front corners facing the ambo.[260] In earlier nineteenth century churches with similar plans the wood stoves were often placed in the front corners with a square of pews facing the stove.

The sidewalls and ceiling were surfaced with flat plaster on sawn wood lath. Decorative plasterwork consisted of a deep compound "drawn" cornice around the edge of the ceiling, a "drawn" plaster ring at the center of the ceiling and plaster label cove moldings above each of the windows. The compound cornice was built extending out about 14" onto the ceiling and down 9" onto the sidewall. Comprised of a deep cove with drop the cornice was drawn out with a round profile at the corner and smaller return cove at the wall. The plaster cornice provided a bold defining juncture between the walls and ceiling. Each of the label moldings appears to have been drawn out with a deep cove and fillet and then probably applied to the flat plaster wall surface.

At the Auditorium perimeter walls was a horizontal board 33" high wainscot (comprised of 8" wide tongue and groove boards with bead) with a bold squared wood 1 ½" cap. The squared heavy window sills were about 6" above the cap. Pews at the sides and rear of the Auditorium were affixed directly to the wainscot.

Figure 2.28: View looking West in Auditorium, 2012.

[260] The ambo should not be confused with a pulpit or lectern of historic chancel design. Traditionally there would be one speaker's stand, called the ambo, centered in the front of the auditorium. All individuals who are involved in the conduct of the worship service use the ambo.

Six identical tall two-story square topped windows, W102, W103, W104, W110, W111, and W112) surrounded the Auditorium, two on the north, south and east walls respectively. Each window opening was approximately 5' wide x 16' high with squared sill stool above the top of the wainscot. An additional two similar windows on the facade (west) side of the Auditorium extended full length behind the Gallery balcony and into the Narthex space below with only the upper most sections visible from the Auditorium. The west facing sash were large double hung sash with multi-panes of clear glass and based on an 1894 sketch they were nine over nine light sash. The Auditorium windows may possibly have been twelve over nine or nine over twelve light sash though no photographic or physical evidence has been found to date. The six Auditorium windows did not have any shutters or blinds and provided ample natural light and ventilation on three sides.

Figure 2.29: View looking Southwest in Auditorium, 1942. Note grain painted 1849 trim, 1889 pews, 1920s two panel doors, 1918 interior stencil work on walls, poly-chrome painted cornice, 1918 lights and 1850s gasolier as electrified.

Each of the six windows was trimmed with a 1" thick wide flat board with applied flat board backband. The trim extended from the squared sill up and around the top of the squared window heads. The inside edge of the trim board and backband were slightly canted or angled. Visually the plaster label moldings above the windows created a top suggesting a shouldered appearance. The actual window trim was neither shouldered nor battered. The window jambs as originally constructed had channels to accommodate multiple hung vertical sliding sash with sash weights and pulleys. The two front windows (W101 and W113) behind the Gallery had simple flat board trim with no backband above the Gallery floor.

Between windows W104 and W110 and above the wainscot on the east wall of the Auditorium, it is presumed that there was some type of ornamental and/or

Christian iconography either of actual construction, or more likely simply painted on the wall. The 1849 conditions of the east wall area between the windows remain undocumented. No description of this area was found to date.

The discussion about the pews and use of stoves suggest that in the front corners of the Auditorium were several rows of pews facing the center. Near the center of the east wall was most likely a raised platform with ambo. The definition of the raised platform, its extent and detailing are undocumented. Typical platforms of the period may have included a railing and base paneling similar to the wainscot or possibly similar to the Gallery paneling.

Constructed across the west end of the Auditorium was a straight Gallery (balcony) with four raised tiers for pews. The front of the Gallery was a paneled solid railing projecting into the Auditorium space about 24" beyond the Narthex wall below. The lower beam of the Gallery front was constructed with a high flat board and broad ovolo molding under a fillet mimicking a projecting section of floor with a bedmolding. On top of the fillet and set back was built a paneled railing system divided into three equal sections with projecting paneled pedestals and continuous squared flat top rail. The panels (both railing and pedestals) were built of flat boards and inset flat trim boards and applied flat board base sections. There are no molded edges, similar to the window and doorway trim. The only molded trim used on the Gallery rail was a deep cyma reversa profile below the flat top rail and similar one under the projecting floor edge.

Two single doorways (W103 and W105) provided access to the Auditorium from the Narthex at the point of the two side aisles. Each had a mortised door with six equal sized flat recessed panels with no panel moldings. Based upon the surviving two 1849 doors (D106 & D107) the narthex doors were each hung on two heavy five knuckle fixed pin cast iron butts with mortise passage set, plain cast iron roses and brown mineral knobs. These two doorways were trimmed in a similar canted flat board trim with backband as the windows, however the two doorways had shouldered trim at the top. The backband was cut where the pew boxes abutted the doorway trim.

The 1849 Auditorium floor was 1" thick tongue and groove pine boards. The aisles, Narthex and front of the Auditorium flooring were at the same level. There was a small step up, approximately 1 ½" into the box pew areas where the same type board flooring was used. Flooring on the ambo and any front raised platform remains undocumented.

Pews installed for the congregation appear to have been raised box pews with doors at the aisles.[261] Two aisles extended from the two narthex doors to the open front area of the Auditorium. Along each sidewall were several rows of box pews extending from the side aisles to the wall, where they were attached to the wainscot. In the center of the Auditorium were corresponding rows of pews extending from aisle to aisle with a board partition separating each side bank of pews. At the front of the three banks of pews would have been a board screen

[261] "The services of a carpenter were finally secured ...you can now see straight back seats with doors attached, so that the proud possessor of a pew, who had paid... could walk proudly to his seat on a Sabbath morning and open his door and after his family had entered close the door without any danger of intruders." Mary Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society," 5.

the same height as the centerboard separator to provide an enclosure for the pews. In the front corners of the Auditorium, as noted previously, were similar box pews facing the center. It is probable that the two stoves were located near the wall in the cross aisle between the front and main pew rows.[262]

Detailing of the box pews remains undocumented, but in all likelihood was of similar squared board and panel design as found in the 1849 doors, trim and Gallery railing. The pew back caps most likely abutted the walls at the same height of the wainscot cap and in like manner may have had pew walls and door caps of the same squared profile.

Gas service for lighting had been brought into the church by 1856. A large chandelier (or more technically a gasolier) provided general lighting for the Auditorium with a well-polished oil lamp for the ambo pulpit (Talbert, 10). Iron piping was used to distribute gas throughout the building for lighting including three stanchion fixtures on the top of the front railing of the Gallery. Gas piping extended to other areas including the basement.

Finishes for the 1849 Auditorium remain undocumented; however, painted finishes for all the plaster surfaces throughout would have been typical. Wall stenciling was often used, but given the limited funds in the early years, a simple painted surface may have been all that could be afforded. Pews, doors and wood trim may have been painted or possibly faux grain painted, both very popular and common finish treatments at the time.

By 1867 the congregation was appealing to the Christian public of Buffalo "for assistance in putting their house of worship in comfortable repair, it is at present in a very dilapidated condition."[263]

1880s - 1890s Work

The congregation had dropped to a very low number and again they appealed to the Buffalo Baptist Union for financial help. According to church records in the fall of 1885 "new windows and other repairs" were made in time for reopening on January 1, 1886. It is presumed that the operable tall Auditorium windows, reflective of late nineteenth century Eastlake and Queen Anne style influences, with pointed arch sash, perimeter squares of tinted glass and large center panes are the ones referred to here. They were installed in the six large windows on the north, south and east walls of the Auditorium.

The square topped window openings had a small square wood mullion extending from sill to cap splitting the openings into two tall openings. Each side was divided horizontally into four equal sash sections. The center two sections were one actual sash with a wood cross bar dividing top and bottom. On each side of the combined middle sash eighteen square colored glass panes were supported by wood muntins; the center pane was clear frosted glass. At the top, the sash was shaped to have lancet topped glazing within the square wood sash. The pattern of the small squares of glass continued up the sash

[262] Talbert also noted that in 1885 two coal stoves, one on each side of the auditorium. It is assumed that these stoves, while probably not the original 1849 stoves, were in the same locations as the earlier stoves.

[263] *Buffalo Courier*, March 7, 1867

meeting at the top in a lancet point. The center glazing was clear glass. The lower sash on the window had a similar pattern as the center sash with nine square colored panes on each side, six panes across the bottom and clear glass center pane. The large center double sash was fixed in place, both the upper lancet sash and lower square sash were operable with center pivots, thus allowing for two upper and two lower sash to be operable in each window.

The two tall double hung windows in the facade of the church were clear glass painted white.[264]

In 1891, just before Reverend Nash arrived, a reference was made to the straight back pews still in place which were installed in 1889. Images showing these pews may suggest that the freestanding pews with the curved arm wood ends were possibly reworks of the box pews. It was common, especially for cost effectiveness, to disassemble the earlier pews, install new pew ends, modify the backs and reassemble them. That way new open style pews could provided for much less cost than new ones. Regardless, the 1889 pews remained natural clear finish until the mid twentieth century when they were painted white. The ornate pulpit furniture including three large chairs and the lectern were purchased in the 1890s.

There is a reference to a "pool for baptizing" during the 1880s work. However, this must refer to a pool that was located within the Auditorium. It cannot refer to the later baptistry and pool located in the 1908 east addition. In all likelihood, such a pool was at the east end of the church although the exact location is not documented.

The 1891 reference noted above stated that the Auditorium contained two coal stoves, and an organ in the front corner with the "Amen Corner" opposite used for the choir, a large single chandelier and small oil lamp by the pulpit and that the front windows were plain glass painted white.

By 1896 work in the front of the Auditorium had been completed with installation of a small pipe organ, raised platform repairs and purchase of pulpit furnishings including a decorated lectern. Records indicate that the leaded stained glass windows W101 and W113 were installed by 1896. The upper portion of these windows was visible from the inside of the Auditorium.

1908 Work

The 1891 description of existing conditions more than likely was representative of the church as work commenced in 1908. Four months of construction repairs and alterations on the church concluded with reopening on December 27, 1908. Work descriptions, newspaper articles and building permit research confirm that the baptistry addition at the east wall of the building was constructed as part of the 1908 work. The new baptistry had a major impact visually and physically on the Auditorium.

The new Baptistry was located under and behind a new large radiating arch in the two-story masonry addition. Access to the baptistry was on either side of the raised pool edge, one step up from the raised platform in the Auditorium. The 1917 anniversary brochure photograph is not clear but does suggest that a

[264] 1891 notes when Nash became minister.

raised platform in the front of the church was centered between the windows with one full length wide step across the front and a center platform raised one or two steps behind in the center. It appears that the higher platform extended forward on each side, one for a chair and one for the lectern. The pipe organ was located in the northeast corner on the First Floor level and an upright piano was located in the southeast corner. Also visible are the tops of the center pews showing alignment consistent with the earlier pews.

From period accounts we know that the Auditorium received a new coat of paint and varnish as part of the 1908 work.

1918 Work

A fire in the basement occurred in January 1918 with repairs completed by April of the same year. Church records indicate that the fire did extensive damage to the basement Sunday school area with water and smoke damage upstairs. Specifically noted were a new ceiling, new piano and decorations to the Sunday school room. Fire damage that still remains today above the existing basement ceiling suggests that the most intense area of the fire was under the area in front of the raised Auditorium platform. Additional notes stated that other work included "new hardwood floor, Choir Loft, New piano, New Organ and complete decorations of the audience room."[265] The hardwood flooring probably refers to the area in front of the pews and possibly the raised platform. Hardwood flooring is also found in the Narthex. The choir loft appears to be the new raised platform at the east of the Auditorium.

One of the two 1942 photographs shows a grand piano in front of the raised platform. It is assumed that the new organ was in the same location as the old one at the northeast corner. This area of fire repair is consistent with the area of the fire below in the basement. The other 1942 photograph of the east end of the Auditorium illustrates the baptistry with its original design features and how it related to the raised platform.

The new raised platform had a higher tiered section in the center with ambo. The platform had a railing with square posts, molded top rail, square balusters and panelized base. The trim had a stained clear finish. The 1890s pulpit chairs and lectern were reused.

Records after the fire also indicate that the church and lecture room "received a new dress of paint and varnish." It appears that the two doors leading into the Narthex (D103 & D105) had their 1849 doors replaced with period two panel doors and hardware.

The new paint scheme with varnished wood would appear to be the one in place in the congregation photograph circa 1942 showing the stenciling, solid wall colors and dark wood trim colors. The 1849 plaster cornice had a polychrome treatment with the walls a solid light color. Below the cornice, above the wainscot and under the Gallery railing has been applied a simple repetitive decorative stencil pattern in a contrasting color(s). The hanging opal octagonal globe lights were installed and the chandelier retrofitted with light bulbs. These fixtures can be seen in the two 1942 photographs.

[265] Rev. J. Edward Nash Papers Film # 4, draft letter text dated April 12, 1918.

1948 Work

A huge fire in the former armory across the street behind the church in 1948 destroyed much of that structure and caused damage to neighborhood buildings including the church. A spark or debris caused the rear shed roof over the baptistry to catch fire. It quickly burned down through the roof, into the baptistry attic and through the ceiling into the baptistry.

After the fire the baptistry was rebuilt with some modifications to the layout of the space and feature details: however, the basic plan with dome and pool remained unchanged. A new plaster dome surface was installed with wire lath attached to the charred wood dome framing. Several new ceiling joists were installed with a new rock lath wall and ceiling plaster system. At this time the 1908 stairway in the back of the baptistry was narrowed and realigned, new cornice detail work and the interior of the addition was replastered using rock lath instead of wood lath. Fire damage in the Auditorium was also repaired and the Auditorium received a new coat of paint.

1952 Work

New entrance doors (D104) centered on the back of the Auditorium were installed and the entrance to the Auditorium was then a direct passage from the new front Exonarthex. Three doorways under the Gallery into the Auditorium (D103, D104 & D105) were fire rated dark finish doors with small single diamond pane glass panel in the upper section. It appears that other improvements such as paint and finishes were also undertaken at that time. The straight back 1889 pews were re-aligned but remained in use.

It appears that during the 1952 work the six large 1890s wood window sash in the Auditorium were replaced with aluminum frame units with alternating tinted glass panels.

The dark finished woodwork; pews and trim were painted white in an effort to "modernize" the appearance of the Auditorium.

Post-1975 Work

With the new El-Bethel congregation assuming ownership of the building, volunteer originated repairs and refurbishing efforts were undertaken. The appearance of the building had become worn, shabby and deteriorated. To improve the appearance of the Auditorium and conceal cosmetic surface material deterioration, clear finished knotty pine paneling was installed on furred out exterior sidewalls of the Auditorium covering the plaster and wainscot. The 1849 window and doorway trim remained in place. Between the two rear doorways (D103 & D105), and under the North and South windows both the wall and wainscot, was covered with pressed hardboard with a stonework applied design. At the rear of the Auditorium above the Gallery, the deteriorated plaster exterior wall surfaces were covered with wood grain pressed hardboard. The large 1849 plaster cornice was damaged from water penetration as well as wall shifting. Several sections of the cornice were repaired with both plaster and wood components; nearly all of the cornice across the back wall and at the northwest corner of the Auditorium was repaired with new wood components.

The front raised platform was modified and extended across the entire front of the Auditorium reusing the 1918 railings, posts and base panels. Railings using 2 x 4s and 1 x 4 boards were installed at the two new sidewall stairs to the platform. All plasterwork and wood trim was painted white.

2000s Work

The Auditorium was renovated as part of the extensive building rehabilitation program between 2002 and 2010. The six tall windows (W102, W103, W104, W110, W111, & W112) were replaced under the 2007 project with new aluminum clad wood window units which emulated the appearance of the 1880s paired lancet topped multi-pane windows. The new Marvin window units were installed within the existing window jambs and frames with a new reveal cover.

Figure 2.30: View from Gallery looking southeast showing 1889 pews, c.1970s

Each window retains its wide board 1849 squared casing trim with a wide canted flat back band with no shoulder, a thick flat projecting stool and free standing cove molded plaster label molding above the head of the window. The window units have upper and lower operable pivoting sash. The surrounding small square panes are clear glass and not tinted like the 1880s windows. Modern fabric drapes and window treatments are in place.

The west windows, W101 & W113, which are exposed above the rear of the tiered floor levels of the Gallery, have simple flat board trim with no decorative trim. On the interior they have a squared window opening but have round brick arches on the exterior. These two windows were repaired and reconstructed to match the 1890s windows during the 2007 rehabilitation project.

The ceiling of the Auditorium was covered with new gypsum drywall extending up to the edge of the plaster cornice. The historic 1849 round plaster medallion was removed and a new plaster ring installed on the drywall ceiling. That new medallion has since fallen off.

The Auditorium is illuminated with four modern small chain suspended 'school house' style light fixtures with tiered white globes, one small modern pendant center brass-toned fixture with glass reflective shade, two modern ceiling fans with lights (one in the east end of the Auditorium and one over the Gallery) and several modern recessed lights. Under the projecting Gallery are mounted two modern brass-toned and glass ceiling mounted fixtures.

A new set of French doors at D104 was installed replacing the 1952 doors and trim at the foyer entrance. The 1889 pews were removed and oak pews from another local church were installed. Commercial carpeting was installed on the main floor, the raised platform, the stairs, and continued throughout the rest of the First Floor. The Auditorium was generally refurbished with all new surface finish coatings and new window treatments.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Although there have been many cumulative changes, the Auditorium retains its essential rectangular Auditorium plan of 1849 with many original features in place. The room has been extensively refurbished several times since World War II including the additional center entrance doorway under the Gallery. The 1908 Baptistry behind the raised chancel platform remains in place with circa 1948 post fire repairs. Modern non-historic wall surfaces including the paneling and hardboard and modern floor coverings are in place.

Room Plan: The 1849 rectangular Auditorium room with Gallery and 1908 Baptistry extension to the east remain in place as well as the modified 1918 raised chancel platform.

Ceiling: An 1849 lath and flat plaster ceiling although deteriorated is concealed above a modern gypsum drywall flat ceiling. The small section of ceiling under the projecting Gallery retains a historic 1849 flat plaster surface with a non-historic square acoustic ceiling tiles applied to the plaster surface.

Cornice: The flat ceiling abuts the historic and distinctive 1849 bold complex drawn plaster that extends around the perimeter of the entire room. Late twentieth century repairs in both wood and plaster are present.

Walls: Original sawn lath and flat plaster cover the walls from the base of the ceiling cornice to the top of the wood wainscot. Much of the flat plasterwork of

Figure 2.31: Typical original molded plaster label molding at windows in the Auditorium. Photograph 2012.

Figure 2.32: Plaster cornice in Auditorium. Photograph 2012.

the Auditorium is covered with non-historic vertical modern clear finished knotty pine v-groove board paneling or hardboard panels with a pressed raised grain surface.

Wainscot: The historic 1849 flat board wainscot with wood square cap extends around the perimeter of the room and has been covered with furred out knotty pine paneling between the windows and on the back Gallery wall. Below the side windows the wainscot has been covered with hardboard paneling extending up to the windowsills.

Flooring: The historic 1849 tongue and groove 1" thk. x 10" wide pine flooring is the first of many layers of flooring. In the original plan, the flooring under the pews was about 1 ½" higher than the aisle and the east section of flooring provided a slight raised platform for the box pews. When the box pews were removed the floor was leveled to one flat surface by raising the aisle and east section of flooring up to the height of the box pew flooring with 1" x 8" tongue and groove pine flooring. On top of the board flooring are several layers of twentieth century materials. There is a layer of wood (possibly hardwood strip flooring), a possible layer of linoleum and then plywood underlayment as a base for the modern non-historic commercial carpeting. The plywood and board flooring of the raised platform and stairs have also been covered with commercial carpeting.

Raised Platform: The existing raised chancel platform appears to have been installed as part of the repairs after the 1918 fire and altered at least once in the last quarter of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries; the present configuration dates to the 1970s alterations. The 1918 wood platform is concealed behind modern v-groove knotty pine paneling and carpeting with modified 1918 railing, lower panels and posts remain in place. Since the 2007 alterations, a small projecting platform has been installed in the center of the front steps to the larger platform. The small platform holds the refinished 1890s lectern.

Windows: A total of eight 1849 tall church window openings are located in the Auditorium (the two on the facade have the lower halves hidden behind the Gallery).

The six windows in the Auditorium on the north, east and south walls each retain their historic wide board 1849 squared trim with wide canted flat board back band with no shoulder, a thick flat projecting stool and free standing cove molded plaster label molding above the window. Windows W101 & W113 above the rear of the tiered floor levels of the Gallery have simple flat board trim with no decorative trim. These two windows have the 2007 reconstructed leaded stained glass windows.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain. Gas distribution iron piping dated to c.1856 remains in place on the west wall extending from the Gallery floor to the attic and along the backside of the Gallery railing. Three rosettes and capped gas pipe ends are on top of the Gallery railing from removed gas lighting fixtures.

Gallery: (see separate section for Gallery). The 1849 Gallery with paneled wood front railing remains in place across the west end of the Auditorium.

Doorways: Three doorways provide access to the Auditorium from under the Gallery. Door frames and casings to both D103 and D105 are original and historic. The lower section of the backband, below the wainscot cap level, was removed to accommodate the earlier box pews. When the box pews were removed in the 1890s the backband was patched and the patched backband remains in place. D104 is a non-historic recent installation.

Pews: The 1889 pews were removed and replaced in 2002-2009. The new straight oak pews with early twentieth century decorated oak ends were repurposed from another church and reconfigured for use in the Auditorium. While these pews are old, they are not historically significant to the Michigan Street Baptist Church.

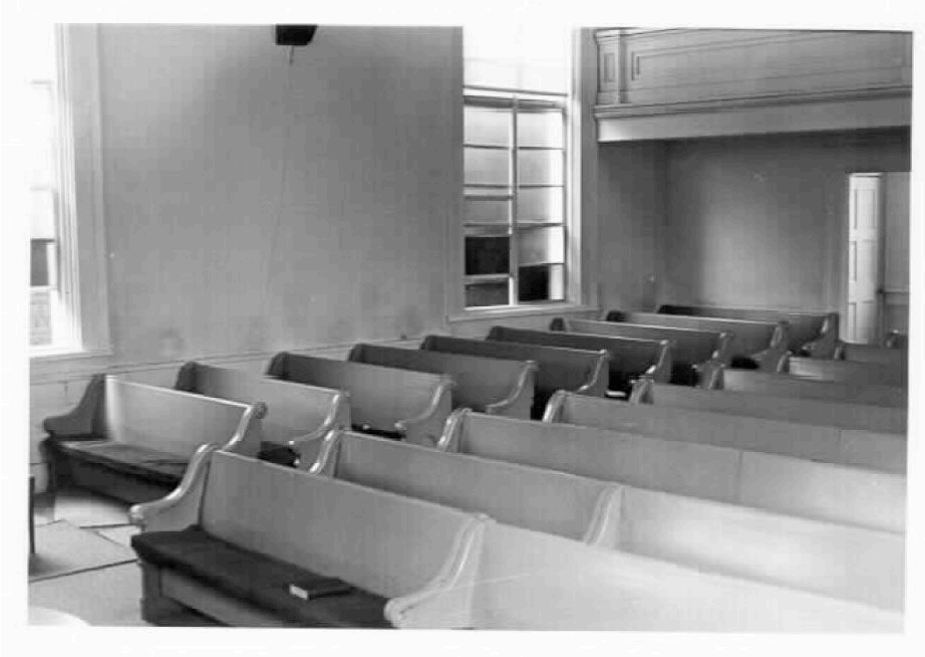


Figure 2.33: View from looking southwest showing 1889 pews and 1950s windows. Photograph from National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, NYS OPRHP.

Finishes: Multiple layers of historic finishes are concealed under multiple layers of modern paint and various modern materials. There is evidence of at least one layer of faux grain painting on the 1849 wood trim features. Modern white paint covers nearly all the trim and plaster surfaces.

f. R107 - Baptistry

(1) Historic Development

1908 Construction

A tall rectangular masonry addition was built against the rear east exterior wall of the church in 1908 for new Baptistry.[266] It was noted in church records that "Our house of worship was reopened the 27th of last December, after being closed for four months for repairs and alterations" and that Mrs. Henrietta Wright had given the "handsome drapery which surrounds the baptistry, in memory of her husband, B. W. Wright, who was for many years a deacon in that church." [267] The addition housed the new baptistry on the main floor and additional "social space" in the basement underneath.

The brick masonry addition was one and one half stories tall with a simple shed roof sloping down to the east. It rested on a split limestone rubble foundation with foundation top at grade. The red brick walls were laid up three wythes thick in American common bond with header joints generally every sixth course and flush mortar joints. Interior wythes of brick appear to be repurposed bricks. The brickwork abuts the 1849 east brick wall of the church. Window penetrations had shallow segmental brick arches with two courses of header bricks forming the arch and cast concrete sills.

The addition housed new toilet rooms in the basement and on the main level the baptistry with pool, possibly a small sacristy type space and a stairway that connected both levels behind the baptistry. The new baptistry was a focal design element from the Auditorium through an elaborate plaster detailed archway cut into the east wall. The 1908 stairway was about a foot wider than the present stairway suggesting that the stairway opening extended south to the edge of W108. It is not understood if the rear portion east of the baptistry was an open area or perhaps enclosed as a separate room. Draperies suspended behind the columns obscured the area from view as seen in the historic photographs and referenced in the 1908 description.

Two double-hung sash windows (W106 and W107) were located on the north wall of the main story and two double-hung windows (W108 and W109) were located in the east wall of the main story. Five double-hung windows (WB04, WB05, WB06, WB07, and WB08) were located in the basement level.

The baptistry was a sophisticated Neo-Classical Revival design with classically inspired detailing by local Buffalo architect John H. Coxhead. The baptistry appears to be the first documented component of the church to have been professionally designed. Neoclassical architectural design was popular in the early years of the twentieth century, inspired by both the grand Beaux Arts style

[266] The use of "Baptistry" used in this Historic Structure Report reflects the spelling used in early twentieth century Michigan Street Baptist Church brochures. Traditional spelling as found in *Dictionary of Architecture and Construction*, Harris, Cyril M., ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1977 and others use an 'e' in the last syllable, Baptistery.

[267] 1908 records & 1909 records

and the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. The traditional baptistry concept of a recessed space with classically inspired columns and a dome over the baptism pool was employed. Coxhead was himself an active Baptist and had designed the Delaware Avenue Baptist Church in 1894, of which he was a member. An arched radiating plaster opening was formed in the Auditorium east wall between the two 1849 windows behind which was the sunken baptism pool with columns encircling the pool and supporting the dome and entablature.

The floor level surrounding the baptism pool was a step up from the raised platform in the Auditorium. The new floor of the Baptistry addition was constructed of dimensional 2 x 8 joists spanning north to south. The sunken pool was framed below the floor level and had a raised curb around the pool.

Figure 2.34: View looking Northeast in Auditorium toward Baptistry, 2012.

To open up the east wall of the Auditorium a pair of (possibly repurposed) steel beams were inserted as a lintel to span the new opening in the brick masonry wall. The wall below the beam was removed forming a rectangular penetration in the wall. New framing, wood lath, and furring framed out the new and repaired east plaster finished wall and the archway over the new baptistry. The ceiling was framed in a similar manner with dimensional 2 x 8 joists pocketed into the north and south brick masonry walls. The dome penetrated the ceiling above the pool and was framed with sawn boards, possibly reused, and were shaped to form nailers for the lath and the curved plaster surface of the dome. Flat plaster walls and ceiling finished off the remainder of the space.

Figure 2.35: Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1942 showing 1908 baptistry details and painting including marbelized columns, the 1880s lancet windows and raised platform with railing details. From the Collection of Foit Albert Architects, image labeled "Book 1.10.jpg".

Decorative surfaces of the baptistry were executed in both wood and plaster.[268] Within the larger arch facing the Auditorium were a series of seven radiating panels with the inside edges forming an arch front to the plaster dome. Repetitive decorative iconographic paintings were located in the panels of the archway and the columns were marbleized. A continuous enriched entablature supported the larger arch, radiating panels and lower edge of the dome. The entablature had a projecting Grecian ovolo cornice with bed molding and stepped frieze/architrave beam.

Below the spring line of the wall arch supporting the entablature on each side of the wall penetration were two square engaged columns. Located under the circular section of the dome entablature were six round columns. The columns

[268] The 1942 photograph of the east end of the auditorium illustrates the Baptistry with its original design features and how it related to the raised platform in the auditorium.

had smooth shaft surfaces with entasis, molded bases and foliated Grecian ionic angular capitals.[269] The columns rested on the raised edge of the baptistry pool.

The large soldered metal lined baptistry pool was 30" deep. An iron plumbing drain and filling apparatus were located in the basement near the ceiling. Access to the baptistry pool included a walkway around the north side and around to the back of the colonnade. On the south side of the pool accessed from the rear were freestanding wood steps within the pool.

1918 Work

It does not appear that the baptistry was damaged in the 1918 fire.

1920s Work

At some point during the 1920s the eastern section of the baptistry addition was modified. The stairway to the basement was reconfigured and rebuilt to a smaller plan. The small room in the southeast corner (R108) was either installed or completely rebuilt.

1948 Work

A fire in 1948 in the former armory to the east of the church caused a large amount of damage to neighborhood buildings including the church. A spark or burning debris caused the rear shed roof over the baptistry to catch fire. It burned down through the roof, into the baptistry attic and through the ceiling into the baptistry space itself.

The rebuilt baptistry had a new plaster dome surface on metal lath, new Tuscan style wood columns, new cornice detail work and the interior of the addition was replastered using rock lath instead of wood lath. At the same time fire related damage occurred in the Auditorium which received a new paint scheme throughout as well as the baptistry.

Post-1975 Work

Church improvements in the 1970s included general refurbishing of finishes and plumbing repair to the pool.

2000s Work

As part of the extensive building repair program between 2002 and 2010 window sash were replaced with new aluminum clad wood 2/1 double-hung units with insulated glass and natural wood trim. Carpeting was installed contiguous with the new carpeting throughout the main story. The stairway was repaired and all surfaces repainted.

Modern small residential lighting fixtures with brass base and molded glass globes are located between the columns on the dome entablature soffit and on the flat plaster ceiling over the stairway. Dates of these fixtures are unknown.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Room 107 – Baptistry: The 1908 baptistry behind the raised platform at the east end of the Auditorium remains in place with both c.1920s changes and

[269] It is not documented if the column capitals were made of carved wood, plaster or cast composite materials.

1948 post fire repairs and alterations. Modern wall surface and floor materials are in place. The historic baptistry space encompassed both existing spaces R107 and R108.

Room Plan: The 1908 plan of the baptistry remains in place with 1920s and 1948 modifications. The 1908 metal lined pool remains in place.

Ceiling: The baptistry dome contains the 1948 replacement plaster ceiling and repaired perimeter cornice built onto the 1908 framing, all painted. The 1908 flat plaster ceiling surrounding the dome area was replaced with rock lath flat plaster ceiling in the 1920s and extensively repaired after the 1948 fire.

Plaster Panel Archway: The 1908 plaster archway survived the 1948 fire and was repaired in place. It is now painted a solid color.

Cornice: The 1908 plaster and wood cornice remains in place with 1948 repairs. It is now painted a solid color.

Columns: The round 1908 columns with capitals were replaced after the 1948 fire with Tuscan style round wood columns. They are now painted a solid color.

Walls: The 1908 flat wood lath plaster walls surrounding the dome area were replaced with rock lath flat plaster in the 1920s and extensively repaired after the 1948 fire.

Flooring: The 1908 wood flooring remains in place. The extent of fire damage from 1948 is not known. On top of the hardwood is plywood as an underlayment for the modern commercial carpeting.

Windows: All masonry openings in the Baptistry addition date to 1908. Windows have been replaced.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain.

Doorways: One doorway leads to R108 in the SE corner of the baptistry and one doorway closes off the rear stairway at the mid level landing below.

D108: The 1920s period wood frame with applied stop, molded and mitered trim, two panel wood door and hardware remain in place. The door has two large panels, wide wood molded side stiles, upper, lower and lock rails and period brass lockset with brass knobs and a surface-mounted deadbolt. Similar to DB05.

D111: This doorway was installed as part of the 1920s reconfiguration work. The simple board frame with applied stop holds a reused 1908 five-panel door with 1908 hardware including cast metal mortise lockset, cast metal knob and key plate, black mineral knobs and ball tipped butt hinges. All are painted. It appears that this doorway probably was relocated from the 1908 doorway at RB06.

Stairway: The 1908 stairway was rebuilt in the 1920s with a narrower wood stair, corner landing with doorway (D111) and lower open run against the back wall into the basement. See RB08 description of stair. The 1920s stairway with landing and repurposed parts has undergone extensive repairs since the 1970s.

g. R108 - Baptistry Office

(1) Historic Development

This space appears to have been constructed as a separate room as part of a 1920s alteration to the rear of the baptistry main level. It may have been an

open space with railing along the open stairway to the basement, however if the room were an original 1908 space it would have been smaller than the existing room.

1920s Work

At some point during the 1920s the back section of the baptistry was modified and the small room in the southeast corner (R108) was either installed or completely rebuilt.

1948 Work

The baptistry fire in 1948 burned down through the roof, into the baptistry attic and through the ceiling into the baptistry apparently causing little damage to this space. Work on this space after the fire appears to have been refurbishing of surface materials.

1970s - 1990s Work

As part of the 1970s-1990s church improvements this space had a suspended acoustic ceiling with fluorescent lights and plywood wall paneling installed.

2000s Work

As part of the extensive building repair program between 2002 and 2010 window sash were replaced with new aluminum clad wood 2/1 double-hung units with insulated glass. Carpeting was installed contiguous with the new carpeting throughout the First Floor.

(2) Existing Historic Components

R108 Baptistry Office: This small square room has wood stud interior walls and two exterior walls with two windows in the east wall and one doorway in the west wall. Original walls and ceiling have flat plaster surfaces from the 1920s alterations. All the surfaces are covered with post 1970s modern materials.

Figure 2.36: View looking Northeast in Baptistry Office. Photograph 2012.

Room Plan: The 1920s plan of the room remains in place.

Ceiling: The painted 1920s rock lath flat plaster ceiling remains in place above a modern suspended grid acoustical tile ceiling with fluorescent light panels. The plaster ceiling has been damaged and several sections are missing with openings into the attic space above.

Walls: The painted 1920s rock lath flat plaster walls remain in place behind modern prefinished plywood paneling with 1920s flat baseboard remaining behind the paneling.

Flooring: The 1908 tongue and groove wood flooring remains in place. On top of the original wood floor is a layer of resilient tile and then modern commercial carpeting.

Windows: The two window openings are original but the windows, frame and sash have been replaced.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain.

Doorway: One doorway in the west wall leads to room R107 Baptistry.

D108: The period wood frame with applied stop, molded manufactured trim, two-panel wood door and brass hardware remain in place from the 1920s installation. Door and trim are painted over original clear finish.

Finishes: Multiple layers of paint are present on plaster surfaces concealed by the modern paneling. Doorway, trim and baseboard have multiple layers of paint in place.

h. R201 – Gallery

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

As built the volume of the 1849 Auditorium consisted of a two-story rectangular box, approximately 48' long x 33' wide x 18' high. Occupying the entire western end of the church was a 12' deep Gallery extending across the west end of the space over the Narthex. The layout of the Gallery was typical for this period and building type, with a pair of stairs, one at the north and one at the south exterior wall. Between them the floor of the Gallery was raised with four tiers, each with pews.

The sidewalls, cornice and ceiling were surfaced with flat plaster on sawn wood lath as described in the Auditorium.

The two windows on the facade (west) extended full length behind the Gallery and into the Narthex space below with only the upper most sections visible from the Gallery. Refer to the Auditorium window discussion.

At the east side of the Gallery was a solid 28 1/2" high railing projecting into the Auditorium space 44" beyond the Narthex wall below. The tiered floor of the Gallery appears to have been wide tongue and groove boards similar to the flooring used in the Auditorium. The nosing of the tiers matched the nosing of the steps.

Pews for the congregation were installed with one row on each of the floor tiers. The Gallery pews appear to have had a more simple design with steep backs.

Gas service for lighting had been brought into the church about 1856. Iron piping was used to distribute gas throughout the building including up the west wall of the Gallery to the attic including three stanchion fixtures on the top of the front railing of the Gallery.

1880s Work

No documentation has been found to date to determine if the pew changes made 1889 in the Auditorium also affected the pews in the upper Gallery.

1890s Work

Refer to previous discussions for windows W101 and W113.

1908 Work

The balcony received a new coat of paint and varnish as part of the 1908 improvements.

1918 Work

The 1918 paint scheme with varnished wood would appear to be the one in place in the interior photograph of the congregation in 1942 which clearly shows the wall stenciling, solid wall color, and dark wood trim colors and Gallery pew tops. An undetermined console, whose use is unknown, is located in the center of the Gallery in the photograph. The Gallery front railing, window casings, and stairway railings were a dark tone/color. The hanging opal octagonal globe lights were installed at this period and the chandelier was retrofitted with electric light bulbs. These fixtures can both be seen in the 1942 photograph. It appears that the stairway at the north end of the Gallery was removed at this time.

1948 Work

Due to the fire damage the Auditorium and Gallery received a new coat of paint.

1952 Work

The dark finished woodwork; pews and trim were painted white in an effort with the other 1952 work to modernize the appearance of the building.

Post-1975 Work

The pews were removed as part of the post 1975 work and painted OSB[270] was installed over the four tiers of flooring in the Gallery. Modern electrical and sound equipment were installed.

2000s Work

As part of the extensive building renovation program between 2002 and 2010 the two windows at the west wall were repaired and reconstructed, new ceiling fixtures were installed, and the entire Gallery were repainted. In the ceiling above the Gallery are two suspended schoolhouse type opal globe fixtures and a ceiling fan with light.

[270] OSB is Oriented Strand Board, an inexpensive engineered wood particle board, that uses shredded wood chips compressed and bond together with resin, and is sometimes incorrectly referred to as plywood.

Figure 2.37: View looking North in Gallery, 2012.

Figure 2.38: View looking at east side of the Gallery rail, 2012.

(2) Existing Historic Components

R201 – Gallery: Cumulative changes to the room have left the essential tiered rectangular Gallery plan of 1849 with many original features in place.

Room Plan: The 1849 rectangular Gallery with tiered floor and one stairway remains in place. The north Gallery stair is missing.

Ceiling: The 1849 auditorium ceiling and cornice with alterations remain in place over the Gallery with new gypsum wall board in place. Refer also to Auditorium discussion.

Walls: Original sawn lath and flat plaster cover the north, west and south walls of the Gallery. Later non-historic finishes cover some original material.

Railing: Across the front of the Gallery is an 1849 wood framed rail. Refer also to Auditorium above for description. The Gallery side is faced with original wide horizontal boards.

Flooring: The 1849 tongue and groove 1" thick x 10" wide pine flooring is presumed to be in place underneath the modern OSB board coverings on the tier floors.

Stairways: The historic south 1849 Gallery stairway with vertical board rail remains in place. See R105 discussion. The 1849 north stairway was removed about 1918 and flooring tiers were extended to the north wall.

Windows: The two historic facade windows have the lower halves hidden behind the Gallery. Refer also to Auditorium above for description.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain. Gas distribution iron piping (1856) remains in place on the west wall extending from the Gallery floor to the attic and along the backside of the Gallery railing. Three rosettes and capped gas pipe ends are on top of the Gallery railing, remains of the removed gas lighting fixtures. No documentation of the Gallery railing gas fixtures has been found to date.

Doorways: None.

Pews: The pews were removed c1970s or later.

Finishes: Multiple layers of historic finishes are concealed under multiple layers of modern paint on 1849 plaster and wood surfaces (some plaster and wood surfaces are concealed by modern materials). There is evidence of at least one layer of faux grain painting on the 1849 wood trim features. Modern white paint covers nearly all the trim and plaster surfaces.

i. RA01 - Main Attic

(1) Historic Development

1849 Conditions

The main attic extended over the entire brick masonry main section of the 1849 church. It was constructed in traditional style with the large timber trusses attached to a timber roof plate on top of the brick sidewalls. End gable brick walls extended up to the underside of the roof framing. The roof and auditorium ceiling were supported by heavy timber truss construction with three king post timber trusses spanning from the north to the south sidewalls. Intermediate timber purlins extended front to back between the trusses and spanning to the front and rear brick gable walls. Dimensional 2"x8" lumber roof rafters extended from the peak to the roof plates supported midway by the timber purlin. Dimensional 2" x 8" sawn joists extending east-west were attached to the lower chords of the trusses with 2" x 4" ledgers. Wide rough sawn boards formed the roof sheathing.

A round window WA01 was located in the front brick gable and two brick chimneys, used for the stoves, were integral with the east gable wall.

Access to the attic was through a small rectangular hatch above the gallery in the northwest corner of the building.

By 1856 iron piping to provide gas for the auditorium chandelier was installed from the west wall to the center truss.

2000s Work

As part of the extensive building repair program between 2002 and 2010 repairs to the deteriorated roof framing, trusses, new sheathing, and new roofing at the main attic and roof were completed. The upper main roof project was completed under the direction of Ted Lownie of Hamilton Houston Lownie Architect in 2002-2003. A subsequent project included additional stabilization of the trusses in the Attic with the services of Foit Albert Architects. The front round window sash WA01 was replicated and the window opening repaired.

(2) Existing Conditions

The main Attic with general feature repairs remains as built in 1849.

Room Plan: The 1849 rectangular attic plan has not changed.

Roof Sheathing: The 1849 roof sheathing boards have been repaired in many areas over the years. As part of the roofing project in 2002-2003 repairs and sheathing patches of plywood were made.

Roof Rafters: The 1849 board roof rafters have been repaired in many areas over the years. As part of the 2002-2010 repairs, including some sistering of framing members, were completed.

Timber Trusses: The 1849 timber trusses have been repaired in many areas. As part of the 2002-2010 projects repairs have been made with both new lumber and steel plates.

Timber Roof Plates: The 1849 timber roof plates have been repaired in many areas over the years and were again badly deteriorated by 2002. As part of the 2002-2010 projects repairs have been made.

Auditorium Ceiling Joists: Minimal repair was required on the ceiling rafters; most remain in place.

Window:

> WA01- An 1849 small round fixed sash with four lights had deteriorated and been removed. As part of the 2007 work a new four light wood round sash was built and installed in the repaired wood framework. Remnants of the original remain in the Main Attic.

Access Hatch: A rectangular wood access hatch, believed to be original, provides access to the Attic from the Gallery below. The hatch door closes from above into the board hatch frame slightly recessed from the plaster ceiling below. There is a hand made wooden security bar in the attic that appears to have been used to secure the hatch shut from the attic side.

Finishes: There are no historic finishes in the Main Attic. It was always an unfinished space.

Debris: There are several piles of construction debris in the attic. Within the piles are many architectural feature pieces that merit saving after the debris is cleaned out.

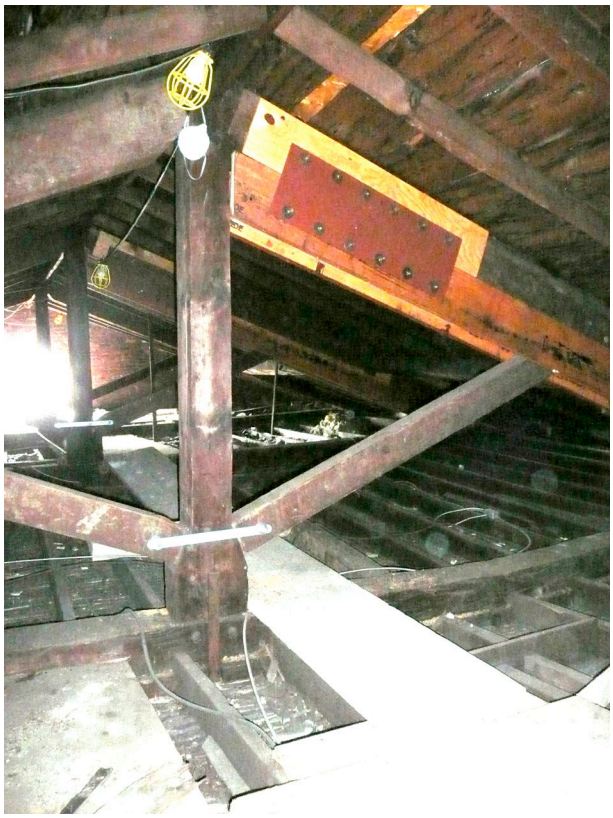


Figure 2.39: View looking West in Main Attic, showing various Repairs made between 2002 and 2010. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.40: View looking East in Main Attic. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.41: View in Main Attic looking at Northeast corner, showing various repairs to framing and masonry made between 2002 and 2010. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.42: View in Main Attic looking at wood truss repairs made between 2007 and 2010. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.43: Section of the bottom of a railing used as a support in the Attic.

Figure 2.44: Section of balustrade. Photo 2012.

Other: Gas distribution iron piping (c.1856) remains in place at the west wall extending across the bottom chords of the trusses to the center truss where it extends down through the ceiling.

Bottom Rail section: Two pieces of the bottom rail of a painted balustrade have been used as roof supports. They do not seem to align with historic images of the front stoop railings. Assuming that they came from this building, they may have been part of the 1849 auditorium interior. Their original location has not been documented. Do not remove from church.

Fiber Floor Covering: Piled in the southeast section of the Attic is partially unrolled piece of used floor covering.

It appears to be a natural fiber woven runner or "carpet" often referred to as jute or sisal that was traditionally used outside on steps. At the church it could have been used on the exterior steps or stoop or perhaps in the interior Narthex entryway or perhaps in the Gallery floor.

j. RA02 - East Attic

(1) Historic Development

1908 Conditions

The East Attic was constructed in 1908 as part of the rear addition to the church. The unfinished attic is a small space located between Baptistry First Floor ceiling and the sloping shed roof. Both the ceiling framing and the roof framing run north-south.

The north and south walls were brick. The underside of the roof sheathing was exposed. The first floor ceiling framing was exposed at the "floor" of the attic with raised dome framing of the baptistry ceiling centered at the west end of the attic. There does not seem to have been any access hatch to the East Attic.

1948 Work

Physical evidence suggests that the August 1948 fire burned the East Addition from the East Roof down into the East Attic. Post fire repairs to the roof structure were completed that year, including at the ceiling structure, roof framing, and at the dome structure above the baptistry.

Figure 2.45: View in East Attic looking West, showing fire damage and various repairs to framing. Raised framing on right bottom is the domed area of the Baptistry. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.46: View in East Attic looking northwest, showing fire damage and various repairs to framing. Raised framing on left bottom of image is the domed area of the Baptistry. Photo 2012.

2000s Work

New plywood roof sheathing, miscellaneous wood roof blocking, and new roofing were installed during the 2007-2010 rehabilitation project.

Access Limitations

Access to the East Attic is extremely limited. The Crawford & Stearns team was able to view conditions in the East Attic by lifting ones' head and shoulders through an existing hole in the drywall ceiling in the southwest corner of the Baptistry Office. An excessive amount of debris from roofing and the fire still remains in the East Attic.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The East Attic with general feature repairs remains as built in 1908.

Room Plan: The 1908 rectangular attic plan has not changed.

Roof Sheathing: The 1908 "gapped" board roof sheathing was repaired after the fire in 1948. As part of the 2007 work the gapped sheathing was retained and new plywood was installed over the old sheathing.

Roof Rafters: Some or the original 1908 roof rafters remain and are approximately 2" x 6". Severely fire damaged framing was replaced after the fire in 1948. Two framing members appear to have been sistered.

Roof Plates: The 1908 board roof plates at the east eave were repaired after the fire in 1948.

Baptistry Ceiling Framing: The 1908 horizontal ceiling joists are ±2" x 8"and run north-south above the flat baptistry ceiling. Some were replaced after the fire in 1948 and several are sistered.

Baptistry Dome Ceiling: The wood 1908 framing was badly burned and charred as part of the 1948 fire. The charred framing members remain within the East Attic. New plaster with wire lath was installed in 1948.

Windows: None.

North & South Brick Walls: The 1908 brick sidewalls are constructed of reused brick. As part of the 2007-2010 work repairs were made to the brick walls.

West Wall: The west wall of the East Attic consists of a 1908 opening through the original 1849 east facing brick wall of the main church building. The 1908 penetration through the brick wall is squared off about 1 foot inside the north and south walls of the 1908 attic. The opening has a pair of iron beams (possibly reused) installed across the opening just below the top of the shed roof. Visible in the opening where the brick has been removed is the backside of the 1849 wood furring, sawn lath, and plaster of the east wall of the Auditorium. This area was not damaged in the 1948 fire and remains essentially as it was modified in 1908.

Finishes: There are no historic finishes in the Baptistry Attic.

k. RB01 - Basement Foyer

(1) Historic Development

1952 Construction

The masonry Exonarthex entrance was added to the front of the church in 1952. Construction of the Exonarthex involved removal of the existing basement entrance with stairs. Refer also to additional Exonarthex discussion for details of the 1952 addition.

Inside the Exonarthex at Entry R101 a short run of stairs, consisting of six risers, descends from the entry landing to the basement RB01 Basement Foyer. RB01, R101 and R102 were all part of the 1952 construction. The stairway landing and lower run were closed off underneath with flat plaster walls.

Sidewalls and ceiling were flat plaster over masonry. The floor was concrete with resilient tile covering and a flat board baseboard.

Doorway DB02 at east masonry wall had a 1952 of solid core doors opening into the foyer.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The interior of RB01 remains essentially as built in 1952.

Room recessed steel frame with a pair
Plan: The rectangular room plan with stairway and doorway DB02 into the basement remains as built in 1952.

Ceiling: The 1952 flat plaster ceiling remains in place.

Walls: The 1952 plaster on masonry wall surfaces with flat board baseboard remain in place.

Floor: The 1952 concrete floor with resilient flooring remains in place under modern glued down commercial carpeting.

Windows: None.

Doorway: DB02 is a 1952 doorway with a 1952 pair of flush solid core doors hung within a metal door frame with butt hinges and passage set. The doors and surround are painted.

Stairway: The 1952 steel pan stair with steel rail and wood top rail remains in place with modern carpeting over the stair treads and risers.

Finishes: All surfaces other than the floor were painted in 1952; these surfaces remain coated with multiple coats of paint.

l. RB02 - Basement Meeting Room

(1) Historic Development

1845 Conditions

The basement was first occupied in 1845 before the upper portion of the church was completed. It was in the lower level basement between 1845 and 1849 that services were held. Egress from the basement was through a center front stairway up to grade and a rear stairway up to grade at the northeast corner of the Basement. Little is recorded of the early conditions of the basement. Physical evidence suggests that some remaining materials such as accordion lath are from this period.

The initial basement space was finished with a wood floor, flat plaster walls and a flat plaster ceiling. Six wood columns with chamfered edges supported the structural framing above. A north-south cross wall closed off the approximately 31' x 35' larger front meeting area from the smaller rear section rooms within the original footprint. It remains undocumented if there was any kind of vestibule at the west end of the basement or how the exterior entry stairs (under the porch deck) were configured.

Two basement windows (WB01 and WB11) flanked the front entrance. One basement window was located in both the north and south foundation walls (WB02 and WB10) and provided natural daylight to the Basement Meeting Room.

The wood basement floor joists were pocketed into the stone foundation wall in the Basement Meeting Room. The joists were most likely installed on wood sleepers across the center of the basement. It appears that the floor structure did not extend into the northeast basement room (now Kitchen RB05). Based on physical evidence, the northeast and southeast rooms may have been a compacted earth floor that was level with the stone door sill at DB01. No physical remnants of the wood floor survive; however, evidence of the level of the flooring, the construction, and materials are visible at the north wall in RB11. This physical evidence shows that there was a flat baseboard with bead affixed to the wall furring against the exterior masonry foundation walls. Extending up to the ceiling from the baseboard was a flat lime plaster wall over wood lath. The sidewall lath was hand split accordion type lath nailed to the furring with cut nails. The north wall of RB11 is the only place in the building that accordion lath has been discovered.[271] The flat plaster ceiling appears to have been of the same construction with accordion lath nailed directly to the underside of the timber frame and floor joists in the ceiling.

Window and doorway trim appear to have been flat boards with a canted edge based upon two existing windows, WB03 and WB09. The four meeting room windows were set within the stone foundation and had double-hung sash. WB01 and WB11 still had 3/6 light sash as late at the mid 1970s. No photographic evidence has been found for the other basement windows.

Heavy sawn framing and hewn timbers form the structural support for the Auditorium floor above.

Heating for the Basement Meeting Room is undocumented but was probably wood or coal-fired cast iron stove(s).

All wood and plaster surfaces appear to have been painted. No evidence of clear finishes was found during field documentation.

1849 Conditions

Records indicate that the upper section of the church was completed enough for worship services in 1849 and the basement spaces were converted for Sunday school uses. Other than general repairs, it appears that the basement spaces remained much the way they were constructed.

[271] Other instances of accordion lath may in fact exist elsewhere in the building, perhaps located behind subsequent layers of finishes.

1880s Work

The flat plaster ceiling was replaced with a bead board ceiling throughout the basement. It is believed that the cast iron posts were installed, replacing earlier wood posts, in the 1880s.

1908 Work

The basement floor level appears to have been lowered at this time when the baptistry was added to the rear of the building. The finished sidewall surfaces were extended down to a concrete floor with a wide canted deep baseboard, similar in style to basement trim in the 1908 baptistry basement.

1918 Work

A fire in the basement occurred in January 1918 with repairs completed in April of the same year. Church records indicate that the fire did extensive damage to the basement Sunday school area with water and smoke damage upstairs. Renovations specifically noted were a new ceiling, a new piano and decorations in the Sunday school room.[272] Fire damage above the existing wood basement ceiling suggests that the most intense area of the fire was under the area in front of the raised Auditorium platform.

The repairs after the fire included installation of a new 7/16" thk. x 2 1/2" wide wood tongue and groove board ceiling in the Meeting Room. The two rooms in the east side of the basement (now RB03 and RB05) retained their earlier beaded board ceiling.

1920s Work

The 1908 rear addition was altered in the 1920s and the Passage at RB04 was created connecting the Basement Meeting Room RB02 to the baptistry basement.

1948 Work

The 1948 fire in the East Attic and East Roof does not appear to have impacted the Basement Meeting Room.

1952 Work

The new front Exonarthex was constructed in 1952. The brick masonry structure replaced entry to the basement. At this time the 1845 stairway to the basement was removed and replaced with a modern masonry entrance foyer at the base of the new steel stairway. The new stairway provided direct vertical access between the main story and basement at the front of the church. A new brick chimney was installed against the north wall with a new furnace in the northeast corner of the Basement Meeting Room. The 1952 masonry wall at the Exonarthex had flat plaster over masonry.

Post-1975 Work

The Basement Meeting Room was refurbished several times by volunteers. Four steel jack posts were installed with a 2 x 4 across the ceiling about 6'-0" west of the north-south partition. Various new partitions were installed that divided the northeast section of the Basement Meeting Room for use as a utility room,

[272] Rev. J. Edward Nash Papers Film # 4 , draft letter text dated April 12, 1918.

Figure 2.47: Looking West in Basement Meeting Room toward WB11 and DB02.

Figure 2.48: View looking northeast in Basement Meeting Room. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.49: View looking east in Basement Meeting Room. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.50: Existing cast iron column at ceiling with wood trim. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.51: Existing cast iron column at ceiling with wood trim removed showing column's original cast iron cap. Photo 2012.

RB11 on the documentation drawings. Subsequently RB11 was partially opened up to the Basement Meeting Room and the 1845 wall between RB02 and RB05 was removed including one 1845 doorway. A portion of the early door frame remains and is labeled as DB10 on the drawings. A kitchen service counter was installed. Glass block was installed in the masonry window openings.

2000s Work

Extensive work between 2002-2010 on the entire building also impacted the Basement. A new replacement gas-fired hot air furnace was installed in RB11. The exterior sidewalls and east frame wall were furred out with new wood studs and drywall surface and vinyl cove base. Rehabilitation of the Meeting Room included new paint, new resilient tile flooring, new wiring, new fluorescent ceiling lights, and a new door at DB03. Windows were replaced with new aluminum clad wood insulated units. WB01 and WB11 are 3/1 double-hung sash units and appear to be shorter at the bottom than the original 1845 window openings. WB02 and WB10 are narrower 2/1 double-hung sash units. The window recesses are gypsum drywall surfaces with simple wood trim and edge moldings.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Cumulative changes to the Basement Meeting Room have left the essential rectangular Meeting Room plan of 1845. The room has been extensively refurbished several times particularly in recent years. The 1952 Exonarthex projects into the Basement Meeting Room. A portion of the east wall has been removed to open this space up to Kitchen RB05.

Room Plan: The 1845 rectangular room with 1952 entry stairway on the west and remnants of RB11 remain in place as refurbished in the 2000s. The southeast room RB03 retains its historic doorway location DB03. The former utility room, RB11, has been partially opened up with a large service counter in the northeast corner of the room.

Ceiling: The 7/16" thick x 2 1/2" wide tongue and groove board ceiling installed in 1918 remains in place with a painted surface. It extends across the entire room and out past the modern furred sidewalls. Several closed-up register penetrations remain in place. Modern fluorescent lighting and metal ductwork are affixed to the ceiling. In the area over the serving counter and in front of DB04 the ceiling is covered with painted hardboard.

Cast Iron Posts: Aligned under the primary timber framing for the Auditorium floor are four historic cast iron posts. They appear to have replaced four wood posts possibly in the 1880s. The cast iron columns have a fluted shaft with a smooth flared top "capital" and an ovolo edge at the top. The columns rest directly on a concrete footer within the floor. Following the 1918 fire, and the installation of the new board ceiling, new square wood collars were installed which cover the very top of the cast iron post.

Walls: Behind the existing drywall the original accordion lath and flat plaster walls remain in place on the perimeter foundation walls and the east frame wall. An example of the 1845 flat plaster wall, lath, and baseboard are exposed in the northeast corner as a part of RB11.

Flooring: Concrete flooring extends across the entire basement with modern resilient floor tiles. No historic 19th century flooring remains.

Windows: Four original masonry window openings remain. No historic window components exist.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain.

Doorways:

DB02: Part of the 1952 Exonarthex construction; a pair of 1952 solid core, fire-rated doors with period hardware leading to the Basement Foyer (RB01).

DB03: An original 1845 doorway with flat board trim and jamb; the original door opened into RB03. As part of the 2002-2009 work when the east wall was furred out a modern hollow core luan faced door with pine trim was installed opening into the meeting room.

DB09: A passageway that appears to have been cut in the foundation wall when the baptistry was modified and the layout of these rooms changed in 1922. The trim is non-descript flat board wood trim and the door is missing. The door opened into the meeting room.

DB10: An original 1845 doorway with flat board trim that appears to have been the same as DB03. After the 1975 work when the wall was opened up, most of the doorway was removed leaving remnants of the north jamb and trim and part of the head jamb.

Service Counter: Located adjacent to RB11 against the east wall is a modern volunteer constructed service counter for serving from the kitchen that was installed post 1975.

Finishes: Historic period finishes are concealed behind modern paint finishes on the board ceiling, iron columns, and DB03 trim. Historic surface materials and finishes are in place on the historic walls behind the furred out sidewalls. The new 2007 period windows are clear finished.

m. RB03 - Southeast Office

(1) Historic Development

1845 Conditions

The basement was first occupied in 1845 before the upper portions of the building were completed.

A north-south cross wall closed off the approximately 31' x 35' larger front meeting area to the west from the smaller rear section rooms within the original footprint. The southeast corner room of the basement was about 10' deep and extended about 21' to the north. The space had one window at WB09. A second window may have existed where DB09 is currently located in the foundation wall.

Based on physical evidence, the northeast and southeast rooms may have had a compacted earth floor level with the stone door sill at DB01.

The southeast room had vertical tongue and groove board walls with a wide canted board chair rail. The ceiling was also flat board construction. Against the west partition about centered in the room was a chamfered wood post against the wall. There was probably a doorway in the north wall leading to RB05.

Window and doorway trim were flat boards with canted edge based upon two existing window openings at WB09 and door DB03.

Figure 2.52: Southeast Office, RB03 looking Northeast. Door DB05 is behind the rose colored drape. Photo 2012.

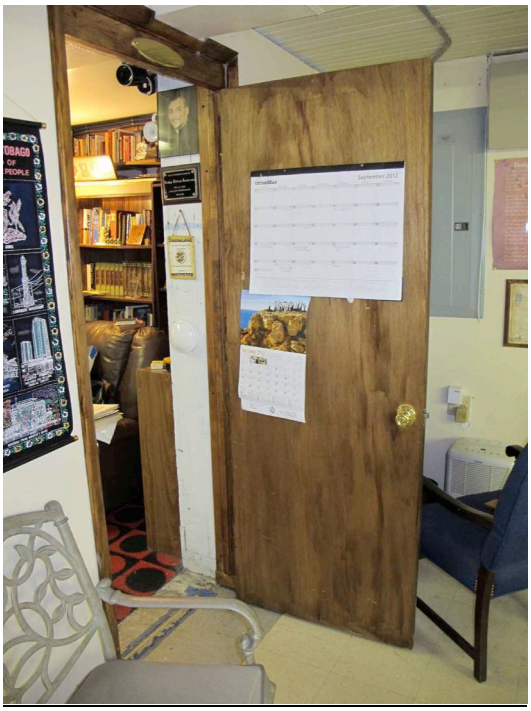


Figure 2.53: Basement Door DB03 at RB03 Southeast Office. Note joint in white door jamb where the original trim ends about 6" above the existing floor, corresponding with the location of the "higher" 1845 floor.

Heating for the space is undocumented; it may not have been heated when built.

Wood surfaces appear to have been painted originally.

1849 Conditions

Other than general repairs, it appears that the basement spaces remained much the way they were constructed.

1908 Work

The basement floor appears to have been lowered to the height of this room's floor at this time when the baptistry was added to the rear of the building and the east foundation wall opened up to the baptistry basement.

1918 Work

A fire in the basement occurred in January 1918 with repairs completed by April of the same year. This room appears to have escaped direct fire damage.

1920s Work

The 1908 rear addition was altered in 1922 and the Passage at RB04 was created connecting the Basement Meeting Room to the baptistry basement through a new doorway at DB09. What is now the north wall of RB03 Southeast Office

was constructed with period doorway and two-panel door. The northern section remained as a single space as part of the 1922 passage way.

1948 Work

The 1948 fire does not appear to have impacted this space.

1952 Work

The 1952 work does not appear to have impacted this space.

Post-1975 Work

The Southeast Office was renovated several times including construction of a small closet in the southeast corner of the room.

2000s Work

The major rehabilitation projects between 2002-2007 included window replacement with a new 4/1 double-hung sash. Work also included new paint, new wiring, new ceiling fluorescent lighting, and a new door at DB03.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Cumulative changes to the southeast room have created a space about half the size of the original with some early components remaining. The room has been extensively refurbished several times in recent years.

Room Plan: This space is about one half of the 1845 rectangular room. As part of the 1920s renovation work the existing north wall was constructed with doorway DB05. In the c.1975 work a small closet was installed in the southeast corner (it was removed in the 2000s). Access to the room is through DB03. DB05 has been closed in place.

Ceiling: The original board ceiling remains in place above a painted hardboard material.

Walls: Original vertical board wall surfaces remain on the east, south and west walls. The 1 x 5 boards have a 6" wide chair rail extending across the vertical boards with canted lower edge and square cap. The 1920s north wall has period flat plaster wall with stepped period baseboard.

Wood Post: Aligned under the primary timber framing one historic 1845 chamfered wood post remains at the northwest corner of the Southeast Room.

Flooring: The room has a 1908 concrete floor with modern carpeting.

Window: One 1845 window opening is located in the east wall with 1845 board trim and replacement window unit. No historic window components exist.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain.

Doorways: Two doorways provide access to the room.

DB05: A 1920s wood frame with applied stop, molded and mitered trim, two panel wood door and hardware remains. The door has two large plywood panels, wide wood molded side stiles, upper, lower and lock rails and period brass lockset with knobs removed. The door is fixed in place.

DB03: An 1845 door opening (not door) with flat board trim and jamb remains. The original door swung into RB03. The original deep jamb and

casing trim on the Basement Meeting Room side of the door has been modified as the original trim ends about 6" above the existing floor, corresponding with the location of the "higher" 1845 floor. As part of the 2002-2009 work a modern non-historic hollow core luan door with pine trim was installed opening into RB02.

Finishes: Historic period painted finishes are concealed behind modern paint on wood features. The new 2007 period window is clear finished.

n. RB04 – Passage

(1) Historic Development

1845 and 1849 Conditions

The basement was first occupied in 1845 before the upper portions of the building were completed.

A north-south cross wall closed off the approximately 31' x 35' larger front meeting area to the west from the smaller rear section rooms within the original footprint. RB04 Passage was originally part of RB03 in the southeast corner of the Basement. The entire original southeast corner room was approximately 10' x 21'. RB04 was partitioned off from RB03 as part of the early 20th century modifications.

Based on physical evidence, the northeast and southeast rooms may have had a compacted earth floor level with the stone door sill at DB01.

Originally, there may have been a window where DB09 is currently, located in the stone foundation wall.

The original southeast room, now RB03 and RB04, had vertical tongue and groove board walls with a wide canted board chair rail. The ceiling was also flat board construction. Against the west partition about centered in the room was a chamfered wood post. There was probably a doorway in the north wall leading to RB05.

Window and doorway trim were flat boards with canted edge.

Heating for the space is undocumented; it may not have been heated when built.

Wood surfaces appear to have been painted originally.

1880s Work

What is now a portion of the ladies room (RB12) was constructed in the 1880s as a basement water closet in the northeast corner of the larger 1845 space.

1908 Work

When the baptistry addition was added an opening through the rear wall was created. This doorway in the foundation wall may have been the location of an original window.

1918 Work

No fire damage was noted in this area during investigation.

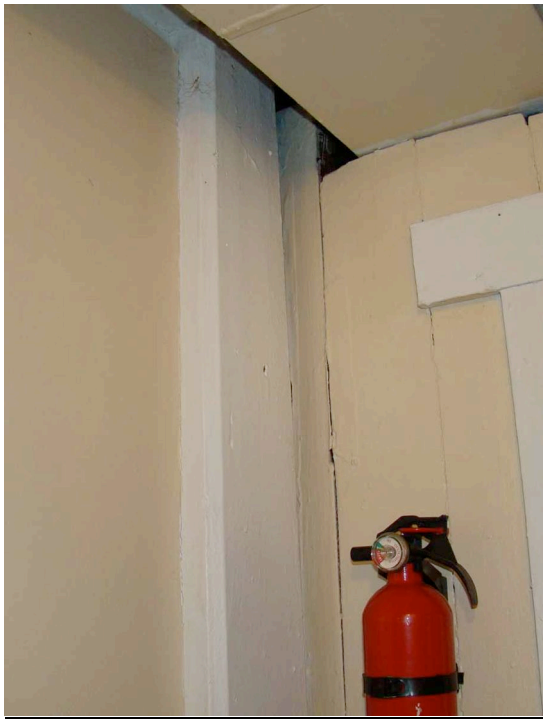


Figure 2.54: Passage RB04 looking at original 1845 chamfered wood post, now part of wall on south side of Passage hallway.

Figure 2.55: Basement Door DB01 in Kitchen RB05. An early exterior doorway with flat board trim and jamb. The doorway opening appears to have been altered as part of the 1908 period work; the 1845 stone sill may extend beyond the existing heavy wood frame possibly suggesting a larger or pair of doors.

Figure 2.56: Step at RB09 at Rear Shed looking east. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.57: Original 1908 wood window at WB05 in Rear Shed RB09. Photo 2013.

1920s Work

The 1908 rear addition was altered in 1922 and the Passage at RB04 was created connecting the Basement Meeting Room to the baptistry basement through a new doorway at DB09. What is now the south wall of this room was constructed with the two-panel door.

1948 Work

No fire damage was noted in this area during investigation.

Post-1975 Work

The existing wood stud wall with drywall finishes was constructed post-1975. At that time the 1845 north wall of the Passageway was removed and the small 1880s water closet (part of RB12) was expanded to the south.

2000s Work

The major rehabilitation projects between 2002-2007 included in included new paint, new wiring and new ceiling fluorescent lighting, and a new door to RB02.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Room Plan: This narrow passage space extends from the meeting room RB02 to the baptistry basement RB08. An open doorway is on the east end and a single door is located in each of the north, south and west walls. The room configuration has been modified several times.

Ceiling: The 1845 tongue and groove flat board ceiling remains in place, painted. This original ceiling extending through into RB03 and is the only remaining original ceiling exposed in the basement level.

Walls: Original 1 x 5 vertical boards (believed to be tongue and groove) remain on the west wall with ghost evidence of an 1845 chair rail. Wood boards dating to 1908 remain on the east wall. The 1920s south wall has period flat plaster surface with a stepped period wood baseboard. The north wall is non-historic post 1975 modern stud wall with drywall surface.

Flooring: The room has a 1908 concrete floor with resilient tile covering.

Windows: None

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain.

Doorways: Three doorways provide access to the room.

DB05: The 1920s period wood frame with applied stop, molded and mitered trim, two panel wood door and hardware remain in place. The door has two large plywood panels, wide wood molded side stiles, upper, lower and lock rails and period brass lockset with knobs removed. The door is fixed in place.

DB04: A 1920s doorway opening. As part of the 2002-2009 work a modern hollow core luan door with pine trim was installed opening into the Basement Meeting Room.

DB06: A post-1975 door with a modern hollow core luan door with pine trim was installed opening into the kitchen.

Finishes: Historic period painted finishes are concealed behind modern paint on wood features.

o. RB05 – Kitchen

(1) Historic Development

1845 & 1849 Conditions

The basement was first occupied in 1845 before the upper portions of the building were completed. A north-south cross wall with two doorways divided the larger front Basement Meeting Room to the west from the smaller rear rooms. This room occupied the northeast corner and was about 10 foot square. The space had one window at WB03 on the north wall, a doorway in the west wall DB10, and an exterior door at DB01 in the east foundation wall.

This room and the southeast room appear not to have had a raised wood floor like the large Basement Meeting Room but a lower floor level with the stone threshold at DB01. From the meeting room one would step down into the room through a doorway (DB10) in the west wall of room RB05.

Wall surfaces in the room appear to have been flat plaster over lath.

Window and doorway trim were flat boards with canted edges.

Heating for the space is undocumented; it was probably not heated when built.

Wood surfaces appear to have been painted.

1880s Work

The original flat plaster ceiling was replaced with a bead board ceiling.

1908 Work

The concrete floor contiguous with the 1908 baptistry addition floor was installed.

1918 Work

A fire in the basement occurred in January 1918 with repairs completed in April of the same year. Vertical board wainscot matching the ceiling material in the Basement Meeting Room was installed over the plaster in the northwest corner of RB05 at this time. This room appears to have escaped direct fire damage.

1948 Work

The fire does not appear to have impacted this space.

Post-1975 Work

As part of the post-1975 work the room was modified. The 1845 south wall was removed and a new south wall with door constructed to form the Passageway. A section of the east wall and door DB10 were removed to open up the kitchen to the meeting room. Hardboard/plywood paneling was installed over the bead board ceiling, the north wall, the walls adjoining RB12 walls and the east wall.

2000s Work

The major rehabilitation projects between 2002-2007 included window replacement with a new 3/1 double-hung sash. Work also included new paint, new wiring, and new ceiling fluorescent lighting.

Figure 2.58: View looking North in utility space RB11.
Note original plaster walls and base trim (marked with white arrow).

Figure 2.59: View looking northeast in Kitchen. Note jamb of original doorway DB10 as marked with black arrow. Only the north jamb of the doorway remains. Photo 2012.

(2) Existing Historic Components

Cumulative changes to Kitchen RB05 have created a room about fifty percent larger than the original 1845 space. The room has been extensively refurbished several times in particular in recent years, although some original features remain.

Room Plan: The northeast 1845 space was about 10' square and expanded to its 10' x 15' size in post-1975 work. Portions of the historic west wall were also removed at that time opening the Kitchen up to the Basement Meeting Room. The room has an 1845 window opening in the north wall, an early period door opening in the east wall, part of the 1880s water closet walls in the southeast corner, and a post-1975 door in the south wall.

Ceiling: The 1880s bead board ceiling remains in place above a contemporary hardboard material.

Walls: The 1845 wood accordion lath and flat plaster surfaces remain on the north wall, east wall, and the remaining section of the west wall. Modern hardboard or plywood paneling covers much of the surfaces. In the northwest corner of the room is a vertical wainscot with cap installed in 1918. The south wall is non-historic and has a post-1975 drywall surface.

Flooring: The room has a 1908 concrete floor with a modern resilient sheet covering.

Window: One 1845 window opening is located at WB03 in the north wall with a 2007 period replacement window unit. The 1845 canted flat board trim, deep stool and flat board side and overhead reveals remain in place.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain. There are several ceiling mounted fluorescent fixtures with conduit on the ceiling (2002-2009).

Historic Doorways:

DB01: An early exterior doorway with flat board trim and jamb. The doorway opening appears to have been altered as part of the 1908 period work; the 1845 stone sill may extend beyond the existing heavy wood frame possibly suggesting a larger or pair of doors. The existing panel door has been cut down to fit the opening. The door could date to construction period for the building, however it is not consistent with any other door in the building. The door may have been re-purposed from another building and then modified for use here, similar to the panel door of the same period found in RB07 toilet stall. The heavy jamb also appears to be of later, possibly 1908, installation.

DB10: An original 1845 doorway with flat board trim that appears to have been the same as DB03. After the 1975 work when the wall was opened up, most of the doorway was removed leaving remnants of the north jamb and trim and part of the head jamb.

Finishes: Historic period finishes are concealed behind modern paint finishes on wood features.

p. RB06, RB07, RB08, & RB10 - Basement of 1908 Baptistry Addition

(1) Historic Development

1908 Construction

The rectangular addition was built against the rear (east) exterior wall of the church in 1908. The addition housed basement space and on the main First Floor level the new baptistry; a stairway connected both levels behind the baptistry.

The basement of the baptistry consisted of an open room on the south side (RB08) of the addition, two small toilet rooms against the north wall (parts of RB06 & RB07) and along the northeast corner a wide stairway up to the First Floor. The ceiling was at several levels to accommodate the recessed baptistry pool overhead and the related plumbing.

The north half of existing room RB06 appears to have been the ladies' toilet room with a passage cut through the 1845 foundation wall to connect it with the earlier 1880s water closet on the other side of the wall to the west. The space within the new basement was approximately 36" x 60" with a single window WB04 on the north wall with flat board trim with an angled inside edge. The room had flat plaster ceiling and walls on sawn wood lath. Above the projecting foundation was a flat board cap. The floor was concrete. An undocumented doorway opened into RB08. Evidence of the removed partition in RB06 remains clearly visible above the suspended ceiling.

A small water closet was constructed in the 1880s in the north half of the area currently referred to as RB12. The 1880s space had flat plaster walls and was about 36" x 36".

The north half of existing room RB07 appears to have been the men's toilet room. The 1908 space was approximately 36" x 60" with a single window, WB05, on the north wall with flat board trim and angled inside edge. The room had flat plaster ceiling and walls on sawn lath. Above the projecting foundation was a flat board cap. The floor was concrete. An undocumented door opened into RB08. Evidence of the removed south partition remains clearly visible above the suspended ceiling.

Room RB10 is an unfinished area adjacent to RB07 and dates to 1908. It remains as a crawl space under the altered 1920s stairway with the 1908 period brick and stonework exposed at the outside walls. Lath and frame walls remain on the south side. The floor is a hard packed earth surface.

RB08 was a larger space occupying about two thirds of the 1908 addition basement with the two small toilet rooms (RB06 & RB07) against the north wall and a wider stairway with a corner landing ascending in the northeast corner. A new foundation penetration provided access to the old basement through a new passage at the west end of the space.

Wall and ceiling surfaces were flat plaster over sawn lath including the furred out wall which conceals the projecting stone foundation wall. A flat board shelf cap covers the foundation projection into the room. Four double hung window openings are original, including two on the south side and one east walls. One window on the south wall was designed to be shorter to accommodate the pool ceiling overhead. Each window had flat board recess and flat board trim with angle cut inside edge; all woodwork appears to have been clear finished in 1908.

Figure 2.60: View looking up at ceiling in Women's Toilet Room showing location of former partition on south side of the smaller toilet room. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.61: View looking northeast in unfinished space RB10.

A concrete floor was installed when the addition was constructed.

The stairway appears to have had a landing in the corner and may have had a switch back run. Physical evidence was found that indicates that the original 1908 stairway was approximately 42" wide with a clear finished hardwood railing, square balusters and square newel post with cap.

The two doors and trim to the toilet rooms are undocumented, but it is believed that the doors were five horizontal panel doors with canted flat board trim like the windows. These 1908 doors appear to have been reused at DB08 and D111.

1918 Work

It does not appear that the baptistry basement was damaged in the 1918 fire.

1920s Work

The 1920s alterations in RB08 included realignment and configuration of the stairway. The stairway was narrowed, reconfigured, and rebuilt with repurposed framing and materials. Portions of the hardwood railing, newels and base were reused on the lower run of stairs against the east wall. RB06, RB12 & RB07 appear to have remained unaltered during this period.

1948 Work

RB06, RB12, RB07 & RB08 appear to not have had significant changes other than new finishes and possibly fixture improvements, the 1948 fire does not appear to have greatly impacted these basement spaces.

Post-1975 Work

Post 1975 volunteer renovation projects were completed in the toilet rooms RB06, RB12, RB07 & RB08 in the basement. To accommodate sinks and more fixtures the church enlarged the two toilet rooms (RB06 & RB07) by removing the 1908 stud and plaster south partition adjoining RB08. RB12 was also enlarged to the south. The work was constructed of wood stud frame walls and modern materials and finishes. Ceilings had suspended systems with fluorescent lighting and the walls were covered with vinyl-faced hardboard. New fixtures were installed. The men's room reused a 1908 horizontal five-panel door; the ladies room had installed a modern hardboard hollow core door. 1908 ceiling lath and plaster and portions of the wall plaster remained in place behind the modern hardboard and suspended ceiling surfaces. New resilient tiles were added to the concrete floor.

(2) Existing Historic Components

The 1908 baptistry basement remains in place with circa 1920s and post 1975 alterations.

Room Plan: The 1908 plan of the baptistry basement was altered twice, in the 1920s and again post 1975. The 1908 room remains in place with 1920s stairway modifications and the post 1975 partitioning off of the north side for new toilet rooms.

Ceilings: The 1908 multi-level basement ceiling contains 1908 flat plaster over wood lath, 1948 replacement plaster over rock lath, and modern drywall repairs. All are painted. Above RB06 and RB07 remain portions of the 1908 lath and plaster ceilings and above the extensions of these rooms remains the 1908 RB08

Figure 2.62: RB08 looking west toward the Passage and through to the Basement Meeting Room. Photo 2012.

Figure 2.63: Rear Stairway looking down from landing at RB08. Stair has been reconfigured since it was originally constructed in 1908. Photo 2013.

lath and plaster ceiling. Above the RB07 room extension can be seen a section of the angled plaster ceiling that was the underside of the wider 1908 stairway.

The west section of the basement ceilings is lower to accommodate the recessed pool above. Ceilings in RB08 retain the flat plaster surfaces. RB06, RB12 and RB07 ceilings have post 1975 suspended ceiling materials.

Walls: In the baptistry basement (RB06, RB07 & RB08) the flat exterior walls have 1908 flat plaster over wood lath, some 1948 replacement plaster over rock lath and modern drywall repairs, all painted. Above the projecting lower foundation section is a new clear finished wood cap with molded edge trim. Interior 1908 partitions with flat plaster and lath and post 1975 partitions have hardboard surfaces. RBO6 and RB07 spaces have hardboard or drywall covering all walls.

Flooring: The 1908 concrete remains in place with modern resilient tile covering throughout the occupied spaces of the baptistry basement.

Windows: In RB08 three 1908 original window openings with trim remain (WB06, WB07 & WB08) all three have 2007 replacement windows. The new units are set in the original openings with 1908 flat board recessed opening with the 1908 flat board trim with angled inside edge. The new window units are clear finished with a pine stain.

In rooms RB06 and RB07 there are two original 1908 windows at WB04 & WB05. The two windows are the only two windows in the building that were not replaced or modified as part of the 2007 project. The 1908 windows have wood frames and trim with 2/2 double-hung sash, sash weight pulleys, and 1908 canted flat board trim.

Lighting: No historic lighting fixtures remain. Modern lighting fixtures are in place throughout the baptistry basement.

Doorways:

D111: A door installed on the stairway landing in the mid to late 20th century, possibly post 1975 using a 1908 period five-panel door, hardware and trim. This may be the original door from the 1908 Men's Room.

DB07 & DB08: Post 1975 doorways installed when the rooms were enlarged. The door in DB07 is a modern hardboard hollow core door with wood jamb and trim. The doorway at DB08 is a repurposed 1908 five-panel door with modern hinges and period lockset and knob within modern jamb and ranch trim. The lockset back plate is embossed cast iron.

Historic Doorway Locations: In the south walls of RB06 and RB07 were two 1908 five panel doors. It appears that the 1908 five panel doors and hardware are currently now located at D111 and DB08.

Open Passages: The 1908 passage openings cut through the 1845 foundation have 1908 vertical tongue and groove board reveals with canted board trim.

Stairway: The 1908 wide stairway was reconfigured as part of the 1920s work. A portion of the underside of the wider stairway plaster surface remains above the ceiling in RB07. Doorway D111 was installed in post 1975 work. The stairway again was repaired as part of the c.2000s work particularly the lower run against the east wall. The railing components on the lower run are repurposed railing sections from the 1908 stairway.

CHAPTER THREE: SIGNIFICANCE & INTEGRITY

A. Introduction

While written documentation is vitally important for the proper understanding of an historic resource, the most revealing research tool is usually the resource itself. The Michigan Street Baptist Church is an outstanding surviving historic building and along with expanding historic resources about its history and associations provides a very sound foundation for historic assessment and recommendations. Historic information regarding the church and congregation taken together with the surviving building fabric of the church provides a rare opportunity to research and assess an important historic site in New York State's Niagara Frontier. These combined resources have provided the basis for the conclusions and recommendations put forth in this study.

While the central component to the Historic Structure Report is the documentation of the historic conditions, this chapter of the HSR consists of two analytical pieces; first it brings together the discussion of those historic conditions found in the structure and second it follows up with an assessment of the conditions to determine the historic significance and historic integrity of MSBC and its features. The historic significance and historic integrity analysis provides the framework from which preservation treatment recommendations are developed in the next chapter.

The existing condition of MSBC represents the cumulative building fabric of many different phases or periods of construction and alteration. The multiple layers of building fabric and finishes surviving from these phases have been the essential tools in researching the historic development of the church. For our purpose, as architectural historians, it is important to note that historic conditions are a distinctive type of evaluation and should not to be confused with (but often are) physical conditions.

1. Historic & Physical Conditions

The two types of conditions, historic and physical, are often very much inter-related when dealing with historic buildings and building features. Both are representative of two different assessments but are similar in that they infer by the term of condition that there has been degradation from a pristine or original condition. Physical condition refers solely to the state of physical deterioration and degradation of materials, systems, and/or structures, such as rot of timbers, failure of coatings, or deterioration of masonry or timber framing. Historic conditions on the other hand, refer to the state of deterioration, degradation, and/or alteration of the historic design and the relationship of the parts such as architectural design, structural system, finishes, and mechanical design. Since historic condition relates to the deterioration of the relationship of the parts and not the physical deterioration of the parts themselves, it is possible to have a structure that has very good historic condition (or historic integrity) but may have poor physical condition and of course, vise versa. Likewise physical condition may contribute to the assessment of historic condition, for example if an entire cornice is rotted away, both its physical and historic condition may be considered as poor.

Because it is a primary task of the Historic Structure Report (HSR) to establish appropriate treatment recommendations for the property, HSR assessments and evaluations focus on historic condition, that is, what remains of the historic fabric as it relates to the historic design of the structure and its historic character. The historic conditions are the determining factors in planning for appropriate treatment actions. Still physical condition remains important in planning for any structure (and often of an emergency nature), however remedies for deficient physical conditions must always be developed in terms of the historic character and historic integrity of the resource. Thus these decisions fall back and rely upon

the findings and assessments laid out in the HSR through assessing its historic condition and integrity.

The term "existing historic condition" refers to the present status of the cumulative historic features. Within the description of existing historic condition, each space with features has been evaluated for its original design, for alterations to the design, and to missing features. By tracing the alteration chronologies for the individual spaces and design features separately, a comprehensive understanding of the whole resource, i.e. the existing historic condition, becomes more apparent. The description of historic conditions has been organized by architectural components including exterior elevations and interior spaces. Within that context each of the architectural features has been organized in a chronological manner.

2. Defining Significance

According to the dictionary, to be significant means, "having or expressing meaning, full of meaning, importance, momentous, and having or conveying a special or hidden meaning."[273] In properties such as MSBC where there is an inherent public trust associated with the preservation of the property, the responsibility of those providing the stewardship for the property is to undertake only that development which is appropriate to the property and results in no harm now or in the future.

Appropriate development is not a subjective decision. It is based upon a well-established set of principles and research technologies. To understand what actions may be considered appropriate requires a thorough assessment and appreciation of the historic property and all its features and elements. Only by understanding first why a property is significant can rational and appropriate planning decisions be made. This process involves researching and compiling a comprehensive understanding of all the elements of a property including components of site, setting, landscape, building(s), structures, finishes, etc. and bringing them together in one collective source. When completed, this source material defines the historic property. In short, it is necessary to fully comprehend what the property represents before moving ahead with future improvements to it. Such is one of the primary purposes of an Historic Structure Report.

In 1966, the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) was created by Congress to be the official Federal list of districts, sites, landscapes, buildings, structures, and objects possessing important information about the history of a community, a state, or the nation. Criteria have been established by the National Park Service (NPS) by which to assess the significance of historic resources, and they have become the accepted terms for defining and evaluating significance. It is these criteria that have been used to determine the significance of MSBC (see below A-D). However, significance alone is not enough to qualify a property for NRHP eligibility, it must also be demonstrated that the property and features possess historic integrity relating to its historic significance (see also Historic Integrity).

Criterion A: Resources that are associated with events or activities that have generally made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

Criterion B: Resources that are associated with the lives of persons significant in the past.

[273] *Webster's New World Dictionary;* 1973.

> **Criterion C**: Resources that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic value, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. [This last statement relates to the significance of historic districts.]
>
> **Criterion D**: Resources that have yielded or have the potential to yield important information in history or pre-history. [This criterion is generally applied to archeological resources.]

Collectively, the historic features of Michigan Street Baptist Church establish and define its historic character and significance or importance. Each feature of the structure has survived several periods of development and associated alterations. Thus each feature is a story unto itself, with its own history, integrity, and relative significance. Taken together, the features provide a better understanding of the historic character of the landmark church. From this analysis, the appropriate role for each of the features is determined as part of the preservation treatment recommendations in the subsequent section.

B. Historic Significance & Integrity

1. Historic Significance

In assessing the significance of the Michigan Street Baptist Church it should be determined in relation to one or more of the National Register criteria for evaluation per criteria A through D above, as associated with important historic contexts and demonstrated to retain appropriate historic integrity.

In brief the Michigan Street Baptist Church is principally significant under National Register criteria A, B & C for its association with African American history before and after the Civil War; for its association with prominent regional and national individuals and organizations affiliated with abolition, Underground Railroad and African American social movements; and as a community church building representative of vernacular modest design and construction in the nineteenth and twentieth century.

The Michigan Street Baptist Church is both historically and architecturally significant. The 1974 National Register listing is an early nomination and places the significance of the building within the context of "Black History." While the nomination discusses many important facts, people and features, it does not break out the components of the building's significance by the criteria, as more recent nominations would be required to do.

A summary Statement of Significance:

> Begun in 1845 the Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo, New York is an historically and architecturally important example of mid-19th century vernacular church design in Erie County that embodies the urban persistence of a pre-Civil War African American congregation in a northern city, of a struggling post-Civil War nineteenth century congregation, and of a progressive twentieth century urban congregation. This church was the prominent meeting place and worship place for many leaders and members of Buffalo's African American community. Founders and congregation members were the earliest African American Buffalo residents and activists. Assuming the pastorate in the 1890s, the Reverend J. Edward Nash lead his congregation and the Buffalo's African American community through over sixty years of growth. Member Mary Burnett Talbert

became a well-known intellectual, reformer, and organizer working against racism and for the rights of both African Americans and women, not only in Buffalo but also across the nation.

Architecturally the building was designed and built between 1845 and 1849 by local African American tradesmen. It is reflective of a restrained vernacular traditional house of worship and is representative of the type of church used by Buffalo's early African American congregations. Drawing upon Romantic notions the building is transitional from the more classically inspired gable front church; it has simple and restrained brick detailing. The three-bay facade with tall round arched openings resting on a raised stone foundation draws from Norman inspired detailing. The remainder of the exterior has minimal decorative detail. The interior is laid out in a traditional protestant church format with one large rectangular auditorium, a raised platform at the east, rows of pews and a second level gallery across the back with a narthex underneath. Interior architectural detailing is also minimal with a deep plaster cornice and broad flat board trim styles found in both Classical and Romantic inspired designs of the period.

2. Period of Significance

Historic significance is associated with specific periods of time in the overall history of a resource. Few historic properties, particularly those with long histories, are significant throughout their entire existence. As noted historic significance is defined to include the envelope of time surrounding the important historic events, persons and physical features associated with the property. Features include the design, construction, and alteration of the building. This time frame in which the history of the property is defined is called the Period of Significance and usually begins with the construction date of the property and ends with a time where important character defining changes culminate.

The Period of Significance for the Michigan Street Baptist Church has been determined to be from 1845 to 1948. It is defined as starting with its construction date of 1845 and culminating with the repairs that occurred after the fire in 1948. It was at this period when the church had reached its zenith of architectural appearance in the middle of the twentieth century. Subsequent alterations, after 1948, departed from the architectural tradition of the church, sometime involving maintenance of the deteriorated building, and are not considered as historically significant to the original design. The 103-year span of the Period of Significance covers a) the initial construction, b) the years of the both struggle and success with related architectural changes, c) the years of tremendous growth of the congregation, and d) ends with the 1948 fire and subsequent repairs.

Please note that the Period of Significance should not be confused with the Period of Interpretation. The Period of Significance becomes a primary tool for assessing the property in historic terms. To that end, when the historic analysis (condition + significance + integrity) is brought together with the Period of Significance and organizational objectives, a Period of Interpretation is recommended. The Period of Interpretation delineates the appropriate goals as to how the restoration/interpretation efforts should be developed. Refer to Chapter Four for discussion about the Period of Interpretation and appropriate preservation treatment recommendations.

3. Historic Integrity

Historic integrity is the assessment of a property's authenticity as evidenced by the survival of physical characteristics and features that existed during the Period of Significance. Not only must a property resemble its historic appearance, but it must also retain physical materials, design features, and aspects of construction dating from the period it attained significance.

Historic integrity is measured by a composite of seven qualities: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. If these qualities are clearly present, then the property is determined to retain sufficient integrity to convey its significance. However, all seven qualities do not need to be present as long as the overall sense of the Period of Significance is authentically evident.[274]

C. Historic Significance & Historic Integrity Analysis

1. Historic Integrity Statement

The MSBC has been in continuous use serving several congregations since first services were held in the basement in 1845. As the congregation expanded and church leadership coalesced, improvements in the form of alterations and additions were undertaken. The alterations that were undertaken up through the 1948 fire were ones that were, of necessity, frugal and yet compatible with the vernacular 1840's building designs. The baptistry construction of 1908, while of professional design, harkened to Baptist traditions and classical references fitting in well with the 1840s interior and simple brick exterior. After the 1948 fire the successful congregation discussed whether or not to move or fix up the old church. The repairs undertaken after the fire indicate a changing attitude towards the building itself ushering in an era of focus on newer and less traditional work. Improvements to the church in the 1950s and subsequent years with two succeeding congregations brought contemporary construction designs and materials to the vernacular building. The post-1948 fire modifications have not been architecturally compatible with historic vernacular and humble incantations of the church's 100 plus developmental year history.

The architectural Period of Significance for the building begins with its construction and embodies 100 years of changes that enhanced the vernacular character of the building (1845-1948). Subsequent changes, while substantial in some cases, did not build upon the vernacular tradition of the church building and are in conflict with its true historic and architectural character.

As noted the building has had many changes during the Period of Significance and the strong vernacular physical and visual qualities of the building remain evident. Even with extensive changes since 1948 it is clearly still representative of the building, as it appeared when it gained its historic significance in its first 100 years. The existing building and features possesses all or part of the seven aspects necessary to have historic integrity. The MSBC retains strong historic integrity to the architectural Period of Significance even with the later changes that do not have historic integrity to the architectural Period of Significance.

[274] *National Register Bulletin # 15 – How To Apply National Register Criteria*: National Park Service, 1991.

2. Building Exterior / Significance & Integrity

The building exterior as constructed in 1845-1849 remains in place with some modifications undertaken during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as alterations completed after the Period of Significance.

The exterior is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its original construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity.

Existing exterior Period of Significance features include**:** the building footprint; 1845 and 1908 masonry foundation wall; the 1849 and 1908 brick exterior walls with stone sills; wood window lintels; round arch openings; the northeast east wall chimney; the stone water table at the West Elevation; the 1849 and part of the 1908 roof structures; 1845-1849, & 1908 window openings; the 1908 Rear Shed as modified; the stone plaque at the West Elevation; a section of steel fence extending from northwest corner; and the 1896 art glass windows. These exterior features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the exterior: the original roofing materials; all Main Roof eave and cornice detailing; 1845 basement window sash; 1849 First Floor window sash; the 1885 period window sash; the 1845 basement entrance; the 1849 front entry porch with stairs; the 1849 front doors; the southeast east wall chimney at roof; and the north wall exterior chimney. These now missing exterior features were historically significant to the Period of Significance but missing features cannot have historic integrity.

The following non-historic features are extant on the exterior: the 1952 exonarthex; foundation parging; replacement basement window units; replacement auditorium lancet style window units; cornice replacements; steel vent flue at North Elevation; basement window security grilles, protective glazing for restored west art glass windows; various flood lights and conduit; electrical service conduit and meter; K style gutters and downspouts; and mechanical equipment adjacent to the north wall foundation. These features were installed after the Period of Significance. They are not historically significant features and do not possess historic integrity.

3. Exterior Surface Finishes / Significance & Integrity

The paint finishes on masonry and some wood surfaces applied during the Period of Significance appear to remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance and are not historically significant features and do not possess historic integrity to the resource.

4. Building Interior / Significance & Integrity

a. R101 Entry - Significance & Integrity

The 1952 Entry R101 with alterations including surface finishes and materials were completed after the Period of Significance. It is not historically significant and does not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

b. R102 Upper Foyer - Significance & Integrity

The 1952 Upper Foyer R102 with alterations including surface finishes and materials were undertaken after the Period of Significance. It is not historically significant and does not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

c. R103 Northwest Room - Significance & Integrity

The northwest part of the 1849 Narthex, now Northwest Room R103, remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

This part of the original larger narthex space is historically significant and retains historic integrity from its 1849 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Plaster surfaces on walls & ceiling, flooring, doorways & trim, window opening & trim, baseboard and restored art glass window. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: The full narthex plan, north gallery stairway, 1849 & 1920s doors, and gas lighting fixtures. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: 1952 change to narthex plan and doorway, modern carpeting, replacement door and infill paneling, acoustic ceiling and modern ceiling light fixtures. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

d. R104 Southwest Room- Significance & Integrity

The southwest part of the 1849 Narthex, now Southwest Room R104, remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

This part of the original larger narthex space is historically significant and retains historic integrity from its 1849 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Plaster surfaces on walls & ceiling, flooring; 1849 doorways with doors, hardware & trim; window opening & trim; gallery stairway with closet; baseboard and restored art glass window. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: The full narthex plan, 1849 & 1920s doors and gas lighting fixtures. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: 1952 changes to narthex plan and doorway, modern carpeting, replacement door, infill paneling, and modern ceiling light fixtures. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

e. R105 Stair & R104a Closet - Significance & Integrity

The 1849 Stair R105 and under stair Closet R104a remain in place with alterations undertaken during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Gallery Stairway and Closet are historically significant and retain a high level of historic integrity from their 1849 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Stairway and closet plan, plaster surfaces at walls in stairway, flooring, a wainscot remnant in the Closet, 1849 doorways with door hardware and trim, stairs and stairway railing. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following feature from the Period of Significance is missing from the room: original c.1849 stairway railing. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however this room feature was historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Hardboard wall covering, modern ceiling light fixtures and modern (late 20th century) pipe stair railing. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

f. R106 Auditorium - Significance & Integrity

The 1849 Auditorium R106 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Auditorium is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its 1849 construction and up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Room plan, plaster surfaces at walls, ceiling, label moldings & cornice; flooring; wainscot; doorways & trim; window openings & trim; pulpit lectern; and portions of the raised platform. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the Auditorium: The 1849 box pews, the 1889 pews, 1885 windows, gas & electrical lighting, ceiling medallion, 1849 & 1920s doors and raised platform configuration. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern carpeting, replacement pews, knotty pine paneling, hardboard wall covering, replacement windows, French doors, drywall ceiling, raised platform as modified, modern ceiling light fixtures, and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

g. R107 Baptistry - Significance & Integrity

The 1908 Baptistry R107 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Baptistry is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its 1908 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** The general design of the baptistry; 1908 plaster surfaces including the walls, ceiling & baptistry arch details; flooring; doorways & trim; window openings; stairway; baptistry cornice; and baptistry pool. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: Baptistry perimeter plan, 1908 stairway, 1908 columns and related details, 1908 dome plaster, 1908 windows, and original lighting. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern carpeting, replacement columns and details, dome plaster, replacement wall/ceiling plaster, replacement windows, ceiling light fixtures and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes

that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

h. R108 Baptistry Office - Significance & Integrity

The Baptistry Office R106 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Baptistry Office is historically significant and retains a moderate amount of historic integrity from its construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Room plan; plaster surfaces at walls and ceiling; flooring; doorway with door, hardware and trim; and window openings and trim. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: 1908 windows. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern carpeting, plywood wall paneling, replacement window units, and suspended acoustic ceiling with lights. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

i. RB09 Rear Shed - Significance & Integrity

The Rear Shed RB09 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Rear Shed is historically significant and retains some historic integrity from its c.1889-1899 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Basement doorway as altered; stone sill at basement doorway; c.1889-1899 brick (north) wall; 1908 enclosure modifications with later alterations; 1845 main building foundation wall; 1849 and 1908 brick walls; two 1908 windows with sash, trim and finish; and 1908 alterations to doorway. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

These Period of Significance Features are missing from the Rear Shed: 1845 basement doorway, 1845 & 1908 steps, and 1908 enclosure. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

These post-Period of Significance features are extant in the Rear Shed: Rear door and storm door, extensive framing and roof repairs, replacement steps, and replacement window unit. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The applied finishes on masonry and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place. The two 1908 windows retain what appears to be original finishes without multiple layers of over coating. Paint finishes on the main building walls appear to date from the period of the shed enclosure c.1889-1899. The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although perhaps concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance. Further study of paint finishes is warranted.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

j. R201 Gallery - Significance & Integrity

The 1849 Gallery R201 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Gallery is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its 1849 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Room plan; plaster surfaces at walls, ceiling, label moldings and cornice (altered); flooring (under plywood); window openings and trim. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: The pews, gas & electrical lighting. Condition of the historic floor under the plywood is unknown. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: OSB covered floors, ceiling drywall, modern ceiling light fixtures and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

k. RA01 Main Attic - Significance & Integrity

The 1849 Main Attic RA01 remains in place with modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Main Attic is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its 1849 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Attic plan, king post trusses, roof plates, ceiling framing with plaster below, roof framing and sheathing, brick gable end walls, west round window WA01 opening, gas distribution piping, access door and various architectural remnants and materials scattered about the attic. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

Evidence of original sash (WA01) from the Period of Significance remains in the Main Attic.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern (2002-2010) truss and framing repairs, debris from masonry and truss repair work, and replacement west window sash at WA01. These features were installed after the Period

of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

There were no applied surface finishes in the Main Attic.

l. RA02 East Attic - Significance & Integrity

The 1908 East Attic RA02 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The East Attic is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its 1908 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Attic plan, plaster and lath materials at dome and west wall, rock lath below, brick side walls, roof structure, dome framing and structure. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: 1908 dome wood lath, section of 1908 roof framing, and section of 1908 attic floor framing which was burned in fire. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern roof framing. These were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

There were no applied surface finishes in the East Attic.

m. RB01 Basement Foyer - Significance & Integrity

The 1952 Basement Foyer RB01 with alterations including surface finishes and materials were constructed after the Period of Significance. They are not historically significant features and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

n. RB02 Basement Meeting Room - Significance & Integrity

The Basement Meeting Room RB02 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Basement Meeting Room is historically significant and retains historic integrity from its 1845 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** General room plan, 1845 plaster wall surfaces and baseboards (concealed), 1908 concrete flooring, doorways & trim, window openings, cast iron columns, and wood ceiling. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: Wood floor, window sash and trim, gas & electrical lighting, 1845 doors, a portion of the east 1845 partition, and 1845 basement west entrance. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: RB11 utility room, modern resilient floor tile, hardboard ceiling covering, replacement windows, modern doors, furred sidewalls with drywall finishes, 1952 exonarthex walls and doors, modern ceiling light fixtures, opening in east wall, and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

o. RB03 Southeast Office - Significance & Integrity

The Southeast Office RB03 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Southeast Office is historically significant and retains historic integrity from its construction in 1845 up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Partial 1845 room plan; wood board walls and chair rail; wood ceiling; 1908 concrete flooring; 1920s plaster wall and doorway; 1845 doorway and trim; and 1845 window opening and trim. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: original 1845 room plan, 1845 north wall, 1845 window sash, and 1845 door. Missing

features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern carpeting, hardboard wall covering, replacement window unit, modern doors, hardboard ceiling, modern ceiling light fixtures and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

p. RB04 Passage - Significance & Integrity

The 1920s Passage RB04 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Passage is historically significant and retains some historic integrity from its construction in the 1920s up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Part of 1845 room plan; part of 1920s room plan; 1920s plaster surface at South wall; 1908 concrete flooring; 1920s doorway, door, hardware & trim; 1845 wood post; 1845 wood board ceiling; and 1920s baptistry doorway trim. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: 1920s plan. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modern resilient tile flooring, north frame wall and doorway, hardboard wall materials, modern doorway to Basement Meeting Room and modern ceiling light fixtures. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes

that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

q. RB05 Kitchen - Significance & Integrity

The 1845 Kitchen RB05 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Kitchen is historically significant and retains a high level of historic integrity from its construction in 1845 up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Portion of room plan, plaster wall surfaces flooring, 1918 wainscot, doorway with door & trim, partial doorway frame, window openings & trim, baseboard, 1880s bead board ceiling, 1908 altered rear doorway, 1845 door and 1908 concrete floor. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: 1845 south wall and portions of 1845 west wall, 1845 doorway, 1845 rear doorway, and 1845 window. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Modified room plan, resilient floor tile, south wall with doorway, east wall opening, hardboard wall and ceiling materials, replacement window, modern ceiling light fixtures and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

r. RB06 & RB12 Women's Toilet - Significance & Integrity

The existing Women's Toilet is comprised of three earlier spaces including the 1908 small toilet room, plus the 1880s water closet, and part of RB08. The spaces have been heavily altered both during and after the Period of Significance.

The Women's Room (both parts) is historically significant and retains some historic integrity from its 1880s and 1908 construction up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** In RB06 – remnants of the smaller 1908 room plan, plaster surfaces at walls & ceiling, floor, remnants of doorways & trim, 1908 window opening, sash & trim. In RB12 – the west and north 1880s partitions of the water closet, plaster ceiling, and 1908 doorway trim. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: In RB06 - The south wall with doorway and the 1908 plan. In RB12 - The 1880s and 1908 plan has been modified, 1880s and 1908 fixtures, and south 1880s wall. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Resilient floor tiles, hardboard wall coverings, suspended acoustic ceiling with lighting, frame walls and coverings, modern doorway, modern ceiling light fixtures, and miscellaneous equipment and furnishings. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

s. RB07 Men's Toilet Room & RB10 - Significance & Integrity

The 1908 Men's Room RB07 and crawlspace RB10 remains in place with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Men's Room is historically significant and retains some historic integrity from its construction in 1908 up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are

not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Altered room plan; plaster wall and ceiling surfaces; remnants of doorway & trim; 1908 window opening, sash & trim; crawlspace under stairway; and concrete flooring. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: The south wall and doorway, 1908 plan and section of wall leading into the crawlspace. Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Resilient floor tiles, hardboard wall coverings, acoustic ceiling, frame walls and coverings at south room extension, modern doorway, modern ceiling light fixtures, and miscellaneous equipment. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

t. RB08 Baptistry Basement - Significance & Integrity

The 1908 Baptistry Basement RB08 remains with alterations completed during the Period of Significance (1845–1948) as well as modifications made after the Period of Significance.

The Baptistry Basement is historically significant and retains some historic integrity from its construction in 1908 up through the end of the Period of Significance. Subsequent feature alterations and added features undertaken after the Period of Significance are not historically significant and do not have historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following room features from the Period of Significance remain**:** Plaster surfaces at walls and ceiling; concrete flooring; two 1908 panel doors and trim; 1908 window openings and trim; plaster ceiling with baptistry pool plumbing; and modified 1908 stairway with railing. These features are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following features from the Period of Significance are missing from the room: North wall adjacent to 1908 toilet rooms, the larger 1908 stairway, and 1908 window.

Missing features cannot have historic integrity, however these features were historically significant to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The following post-Period of Significance features are extant in the room: Resilient tile flooring, hardboard wall covering, replacement window units, modern doors, ceiling drywall, modern ceiling light fixtures, and miscellaneous equipment. These features were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant features, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The paint and varnish finishes on plaster and wood surfaces during the Period of Significance are extant and remain in place under several layers of post-Period of Significance finishes and surface materials (applied after 1948). The surface finishes that were installed during the Period of Significance (although concealed) are historically significant and possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

The post-Period of Significance surface finishes were installed after 1948 and are extant. These finishes and materials were installed after the Period of Significance, are not historically significant, and do not possess historic integrity to the MSBC Period of Significance.

D. Historic Designations & Regulatory Review

As illustrated by the research for the Historic Structure Report, the Michigan Street Baptist Church is a highly important historic resource with local, state, and national levels of significance for its associations with the development of Buffalo and African American history. In recognition of the significance of the MSBC, the property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on February 12, 1974. A copy of the nomination form is included as Appendix C of this report.

When State or Federal funds are expended affecting properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places various laws require that the funding recipient consult with the State Historic Preservation Office (otherwise known as the SHPO) to ensure that the property will not be adversely affected by this work being paid for, in part, with public funds. In New York State the SHPO is designated as the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. It is also important to understand that the SHPO's review in such matters applies to the entire property including the interior, the exterior, the site, subsurface archeological concerns, and, in some instances, to adjacent properties where work (even if the adjacent property isn't considered "historic") might still affect the historic resource.

Such is the case with the Michigan Street Baptist Church. In 2002 a New York State Environmental Protection Fund (EPF) grant was awarded for the repair and rehabilitation of the church. The construction was completed between 2007 and 2010. All work was subject to review by the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP). Protective covenants per the grantee's agreement with the State of New York requires that all future proposed work at the site be submitted and approved by the SHPO/OPRHP for a twenty (20) year term. Thus the covenant requiring SHPO review will not expire until late 2032 or early 2033 depending on when the State of New York issued the final reimbursement check. The Preservation Covenant held by the NYS OPRHP is dated May 11, 2006 and is recorded in the Erie County Clerk's Office on September 14, 2006, in Liber 11119 page 2438. Planning for future projects should include early consultation with the SHPO and adequate time for their review of proposed scopes.

For prospective projects, the proposed scopes, drawings, and specifications should be submitted by either the owner or their consultant to the SHPO for review and comment. Failure to secure

approval prior to work can result in the loss of public funding if the completed work is considered inappropriate by the SHPO. It is incumbent on funding recipients to determine whether such a review is necessary since some funding entities may not be aware of its applicability in individual situations. In some instances it's advisable to have work not necessarily subject to these requirements reviewed anyway to ensure its appropriateness and demonstrate a willingness to comply with the intent as well as the letter of the law.

MICHIGAN AVENUE
BAPTIST CHURCH
CONGREGATION FORMED 1836. SECOND BAPTIST CHURCH OF BUFFALO AND FIRST BLACK CHURCH OF ANY DENOMINATION IN THE CITY. CORNER-STONE LAID 1845. COMPLETED 1849. THE REV. DR. J. EDWARD NASH, PASTOR, 1892-1953. ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES.
BUFFALO & ERIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1974

Figure 3.1: Existing marker on building adjacent to front entrance. The plaque, dated 1974, was placed by the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society.

The Michigan Street Baptist Church is also designated as a local landmark property and is protected under Buffalo's local historic preservation law, Chapter 337 - Preservation Standards of the Charter and Code of the City of Buffalo. While the National Register listing noted above protects the MSBC because federal and/or state funding was involved, Buffalo's local law serves to protect the resource when any work is proposed to the exterior of the structure regardless of funding.

Required reviews are undertaken by the Buffalo Historic Preservation Board to seek a Certificate of Appropriateness. Like the SHPO reviews, the Historic Preservation Board uses *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties* with associated NPS guidelines. The

reviews and protection offered the property through the Buffalo local preservation law is perhaps the most effective long-term protection of the preservation designations.

If viewed from a philosophical perspective, these laws are intended to assure that properties which are historically significant are not harmed through government undertaking or permitting processes. Government (Federal, State & Local) is a public trust and as such their programs (funding, undertakings and/or permitting) must "do no harm" to significant cultural resources. It is because of this that these agencies scrutinize potential projects to make sure that the resource itself is protected and will be enhanced by the prospective undertaking.

CHAPTER FOUR: RECOMMENDATIONS & CONCLUSIONS

A. Preservation Considerations

The first sections of this report assess the historic integrity of the Michigan Street Baptist Church building, provide an appropriate philosophical foundation, and discuss how to organize future restoration and rehabilitation goals and objectives. Historic Structure Reports by their definition set the groundwork for developing later projects and are not intended to be construction documents. Therefore HSR's are not extensive condition reports per se on the physical deterioration of a building because they more aptly serve as a planning tool. This section of the HSR serves to take advantage of the investigation and observations of the building. During the course of the field investigation some conditions were noted that would require future action and it should be noted that few of the conditions pose serious threats.

A vibrant and active congregation, the El Bethel Assembly / Light of the World Mission, Inc., currently owns and occupies the structure. On August 4, 2010 an Easement was executed between the owner and the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition, Inc. (BNFSC) providing an "…easement in perpetuity…(for) use, occupancy, maintenance and restoration the Michigan Street Baptist Church…" The agreement also allows the BNFSC to conduct educational and tourism activities at the property. All physical alterations to the building and grounds of the property requires the consent of the owner. The Easement notes that both parties agree to cooperate in efforts to enhance and promote the historic character and heritage of the church.

Both the El Bethel Assembly and the BNFSC have great respect for the church's place in history. The heritage of the Michigan Street Baptist Church is distinctive and with that legacy brings a challenge of how to respect and interpret the past and maintain the church as an active place of worship. The HSR discusses the historic character of MSBC, what survives and what is important to protect and preserve. There does not have to be conflict between the historic character of MSBC and the need for the property to be used as an active place of worship. The two ideas are not mutually exclusive and in fact support each other. Maintaining the church's significant historic features as an exceptional backdrop for the current congregation can provide a win-win situation for all. The cardinal recommendation is to "do no harm," that is to carefully and thoughtfully coordinate all new work so that it is compatible and enhances the historic character of the church and where sensible bring back altered or removed important components. What could be more relevant to the modern congregation than the architectural character that references the community's past? As future projects and needs are identified, planning for them to work with the character defining features of the building does not necessarily have to be expensive or difficult. It should be accomplished with forethought and careful design. The following planning and action recommendations will serve to assist both the congregation and the community in meeting the common goals for the Michigan Street Baptist Church.

B. Historic Designation Recommendations

1. Network to Freedom Recommendation

Based on research in this Historic Structure Report, the Michigan Street Baptist Church now meets strict standards for listing as an Underground Railroad site with the National Park Service's Underground Railroad Network to Freedom. Currently, the Network to Freedom lists sixty-five sites, programs, and research facilities in New York State, including Broderick Park in Buffalo.

The Mission Statement of the Network to Freedom states: Recognizing that all human beings embrace the right to self-determination and freedom from oppression, the historical Underground Railroad (UGRR) sought to address the injustices of slavery and make freedom a reality in the United States. The National Park Service, through shared leadership with local, state, and federal entities, as well as interested individuals and organizations, will: promote programs and partnerships to commemorate, preserve sites and other resources associated with, and educate the public about the historical significance of the UGRR.

Listing offers each site a "stamp of approval" from the National Park Service, the right to use the Network to Freedom logo, listing on the Network to Freedom website, professional advice, and eligibility for grants, when Congress appropriates funds. Historical New York Research Associates, has committed to write this nomination *pro bono,* for submission by the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition.

Further information the NPS "Network to Freedom" program can be found at http://www.nps.gov/subjects/ugrr/about_ntf/index.htm

2. National Historic Landmark Recommendation

The former Michigan Street Baptist Church is an extremely significant historic resource that retains a high level of historic integrity. The property was listed in the National Register of Historic Places and New York State Register of Historic Places in 1974.

The historical significance of the MSBC extends beyond just Buffalo and New York State's boundaries. Its association with nationally significant African American leaders in both the pre and post Civil War years is well documented. Of particular note is its role as a focal site for speakers, meetings and proponents of Underground Railroad activities. The building is also significant for the role it played in the development of early 20th century social reform movements including the formation of the Niagara Movement (a precursor to the NAACP) and the National Association of Colored Women's clubs.

Given the national significance of these endeavors and the role that the church played, it is recommended that the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition pursue designation for the property as a National Historic Landmark (NHL). NHL status is reserved for the most historic buildings, sites, structures, or objects that have a National level of historical significance and therefore represents an outstanding aspect of American history and culture.

Further information the NPS "National Historic Landmark" designation program can be found at http://www.nps.gov/nhl/

C. The Preservation Approach & Plan

Preservation Planning is the effort to preserve and protect resources through an effective long-term program. In addition to general rehabilitation concerns, the larger picture of preservation, as a planning and budgeting tool is critical to consider. The most elementary part of preservation is maintenance. In fact, preservation is often equated with maintenance. How a building is maintained through methodology, materials and repairs will determine its ultimate preservation or not. A maintenance program that is too aggressive, as well as the lack of maintenance, can both do significant and irreparable damage. Preservation therefore involves evaluation, understanding and balancing of every force that will have any kind of impact upon an historic resource including proposed restoration work.

The development of a Preservation Plan for the MSBC should be an essential element and tool of the planning process for the ultimate future care and use of the property. Developing a plan for responsible stewardship of the church with all the issues, questions, and answers requires time and thought to develop. Many of these issues are addressed in the HSR and will be the foundation for the development of a Preservation Plan.

Similar to a Master Plan, a Preservation Plan is a comprehensive look at the future program and care needs of the resource and how they interact with the historic fabric of the site. In addition to addressing the long-term capital projects, such a plan provides for addressing the on-going and routine maintenance and repair of the property. A Preservation Plan will map out the role of the historic resource and how the stewards plan to take care of it into the future.

A Preservation Plan must include, as a minimum, the following basic elements:

1. A Preservation Treatment philosophy that establishes objectives for the form of the repairs, alterations, and maintenance that will be undertaken for the historic property;
2. A use plan of what program requirements are to be placed upon the building and site;
3. A maintenance plan for the ongoing care of the building and site in a cyclical manner;
4. An identification of other factors that will have an impact on the resource and the means by which to address them;
5. The incorporation of the Preservation Plan as part of the Master Plan for the site;
6. A schedule of budget and work objectives (long and short term);
7. An organizational structure for the supervision of use, maintenance and rehabilitation; and
8. A means to review and update the Preservation Plan on a regular basis.

Each of these elements is comprised of multiple sub-categories, all of which interrelate with and impact upon each other. Thus, a Preservation Plan should bring together all the important historic elements, physical elements, and use demand elements of the resource and set an agenda that will protect the resource while retaining its functional utility.

The task of outlining the goals, objectives, funding, philosophy and timetable in a practical and timely fashion is not always easy. There is often much debate. However, when a course of action is decided upon, it should be recorded in writing and become a primary part of the organization's policy, including its reasoning and logic. With goals and objectives firmly in place, discussions can evolve about methodology and implementation. However, once a plan is adopted, it should not be deviated from unless the entire plan is reconsidered.

The HSR for the MSBC lays the groundwork for a Preservation Plan. The recommendations found in this chapter are presented as the basis for a Preservation Plan for the historic resource. The recommendations are in keeping with accepted historic preservation definitions, guidelines and philosophies. The preservation philosophy recommended here is in accordance with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring, & Reconstructing Historic Buildings* and *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes.*

Remembering that historic properties are full of historic and architectural significance as well as important individual features, it becomes paramount at every step to assess and verify that the implementation plans are appropriate in concept as well as of appropriate design. Implementation of the recommendations may require additional research, design, and decisions. Rehabilitation and restoration of features such as doorways and trim, surface finishes, ephemeral materials, and the

like will each require thorough investigation as the process continues. As part of future rehabilitation projects it will be necessary to conduct assessments of the most effective and efficient mechanical, electrical, plumbing, alarm, fire protection and communication systems for installation and operation. Each component would require careful assessment, planning, and integration into the building by a qualified consultant who is familiar with both historic buildings and the required systems and who can make sensitive and compatible recommendations that are consistent with the overall Preservation Plan for the property.

D. Appropriate Preservation Treatments

The preservation policy to be established for the operation of the former Michigan Street Baptist Church recognizes the stewardship responsibility of the Buffalo Niagara Freedom Station Coalition (BNFSC) to appropriately care for the building and site. The BNFSC and El Bethel Assembly have both participated in the implementation of many of the stewardship oversight obligations and planning efforts in recent years. Development decisions within the accepted parameters of conservation and preservation guidelines have begun and it is the intent of this HSR to provide a fuller understanding of the resource as well as provide basic direction for the appropriate treatments of the church, its features, its spaces, and site.

In dealing with American historic resources, the National Park Service (NPS) has taken the leadership role in defining and setting regulations and guidelines for preservation activities for the public sector. Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, the Secretary of the Interior, through the National Park Service, has developed appropriate standards for the treatment of historic resources. These treatment standards and accompanying philosophies have also been widely accepted as basic preservation standards in the private sector as well.

Accompanying each of the four Preservation Treatments are a series of philosophical standards for applying the treatments to historic resources, and each treatment type has a series of guidelines to follow when planning and implementing work. The Preservation Treatments as outlined by the National Park Service (and as revised in 1995) are those that form the basis for the recommendations developed for MSBC. Those four distinct, but interrelated, approaches to the treatment of historic resources are Preservation, Rehabilitation, Restoration, and Reconstruction.[275] In order to fully understand the Preservation Treatments and their philosophical implications to a structure of this significance, their definitions are listed here.

> ***Preservation*** is defined as the act or process of applying measures necessary to sustain the existing form, integrity, and materials of an historic property. Work, including preliminary measures to protect and stabilize the property, generally focuses upon the ongoing maintenance and repair of historic materials and features rather than extensive replacement and new construction. New exterior additions are not within the scope of this treatment; however, the limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a preservation project.
>
> ***Rehabilitation*** is defined as the act or process of returning a property to a state of utility through appropriate repair or alteration which makes possible an efficient contemporary use while preserving those portions or features of the property which are significant to its historical, architectural and cultural values.
>
> ***Restoration*** is defined as the act or process of accurately recovering the form, features and character of a property and its setting as it appeared at a particular period of time in history by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and by

[275] See Appendices for full definitions and standards for all four treatments.

the reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period. The limited and sensitive upgrading of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems and other code-required work to make properties functional is appropriate within a restoration project.

Reconstruction is defined as the act or process of reproducing by new construction the exact form, features, and detailing of a vanished building, landscape, structure, or object, or a part thereof, for the purpose of replicating its appearance at a specific period in time and in its historic location.

Selecting an appropriate primary Preservation Treatment for a historic building is critical. The choice always depends upon a variety of factors, including amongst others the resource's significance, historic integrity, physical condition, proposed use, financial issues, and intended interpretation. A primary Preservation Treatment is the overlying preservation philosophy that will guide the planning and physical work efforts of the future.

The assessment of physical condition and historic integrity are also prime factors for developing appropriate Preservation Treatment recommendations. What is the existing condition - or degree of material integrity and deterioration - of the building? Has the original form survived largely intact or has it been altered over time? Are the alterations an important part of the property's history?

The primary treatment choice will set the stage for the comprehensive philosophical approach and the subsequent physical approach to the historic resource. The purpose for the selection of a primary treatment is to provide an umbrella under which the entire project operates. Within the primary umbrella treatment will fall the direction for each of the other sub-features of the building and site. Each will be individually assessed and receive its own treatment recommendation within the overall context. It should be noted that selection of a primary treatment does not preclude use of the other three treatments as necessary to support the primary treatment. This affords flexibility to effectively develop a pragmatic plan for the historic resource.

Preservation may be the appropriate treatment if distinctive materials, features, and spaces are essentially intact and convey the resource's historic significance and it is desired to retain the status quo for the building and site. Preservation as a treatment implies that appropriate maintenance continues with little proposed change.

Rehabilitation may be the appropriate treatment choice if the resource (building and site) requires more extensive repair and replacement, or if alterations, additions, or removals, are necessary for its repair or there is a proposed change of use that will require alteration to the resource. Rehabilitation allows for changes as long as their designs are appropriate to the historic character of the resource.

Restoration may be the appropriate treatment where the return to a specific historic appearance and period of time are desired. Restoration is usually the treatment when dealing with historic house museums and period rooms. Restoration allows for removal and addition of features as necessary to accomplish an accurate restoration to a specific date and time. Likewise an individual room may not be suitable or possible to restore. Rehabilitation or Preservation may be selected as the individual treatment for that room, but in overall support of the primary Restoration treatment.

Reconstruction may be the appropriate treatment if the building and/or building features, and site/site features are missing all together. However Reconstruction requires sound historic documentation for those features to be reconstructed, and does not rely upon supposition.

With the selection of the most appropriate Preservation Treatment and associated Standards and Guidelines for the future development of the church and site, a philosophical direction will become clear. In a like manner, with the philosophical decision in place, the repair, conservation, maintenance and specific approaches for the treatment of the physical features of the building will also evolve.

The standards developed for the implementation of the four Preservation Treatments are purposefully neither technical nor prescriptive, but are intended to promote responsible preservation practices that help protect our irreplaceable cultural resources. For example, they cannot, in and of themselves, be used to make essential decisions about which features of the historic resource should be saved or which can be changed. But once a treatment is selected, the Standards provide a philosophical framework within which to make these decisions for the project and future work.

1. Primary Preservation Treatment Recommendation: Rehabilitation

Within the framework of the building and site treatment standards as outlined above, the appropriate primary preservation treatment of *Rehabilitation* is recommended for the Michigan Street Baptist Church as a whole, while some components may have the *Restoration* treatment. It is recommended that the building be rehabilitated to be reflective of its pre-1948 architectural character.

Following the Primary Treatment Recommendations are outlined Secondary Preservation Treatments that are recommended for building and site features based upon their individual historic integrity and proposed use within the context and philosophy of the Primary Preservation Treatment recommendation philosophy.

Rehabilitation is distinctive in that it encourages continued use and improvements to the resource, as long as they are compatible with the historic character and integrity of the building. Like the other Treatments for historic buildings, the *Rehabilitation* treatment has Standards to follow when implementing the treatment. Since *Rehabilitation* is the recommended treatment, the ten Standards for *Rehabilitation* are listed here for reference.

Standards for Rehabilitation

1. A property shall be used as it was historically or be given a new use that requires minimal change to its distinctive materials, features, spaces, and spatial relationships.
2. The historic character of a property shall be retained and preserved. The removal of distinctive materials or alteration of features, spaces, and spatial relationships that characterize a property shall be avoided.
3. Each property shall be recognized as a physical record of its time, place, and use. Changes that create a false sense of historical development, such as adding conjectural features or elements from other historic properties, shall not be undertaken.
4. Changes to a property that have acquired historic significance in their own right will be retained and preserved.
5. Distinctive materials, features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property shall be preserved.

6. Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature shall match the old in design, color, texture, and where possible materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary and physical evidence.

7. Chemical or physical treatments, if appropriate, shall be undertaken using the gentlest means possible. Treatments that cause damage to historic materials shall not be used.

8. Archeological resources shall be protected and preserved in place. If such resources must be disturbed, mitigation measures shall be undertaken.

9. New additions, exterior alterations, or related new construction shall not destroy historic materials, features, and spatial relationships that characterize the property. The new work shall be differentiated from the old and shall be compatible with the historic materials, features, size, scale and proportion, and massing to protect the integrity of the property and its environment.

10. New additions and adjacent or related new construction shall be undertaken in such a manner that, if removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property and its environment would be unimpaired.

2. Specific Preservation Treatment Recommendations:

In establishing the significance and integrity of the resource, building features were identified and analyzed. Since these are the collective character defining features of the church, a particular Preservation Treatment schedule for selective features has been recommended as appropriate within the overall primary Rehabilitation Treatment that would use the church's approximate appearance pre-1948, at the end of the Period of Significance, as the architectural backdrop for all rehabilitation work. The recommendations require a minimal level of intervention into the historic fabric and historic plan of the building. In most cases, since retention of the integrity of the historic fabric and character is the primary concern of the project, most historic features are simply to be repaired and finishes renewed, restored or replicated. In the case of the areas recommended for restoration to a pre-1948 appearance, reversing the impact of some later, major alterations can be achieved over a period of time.

Preservation treatments with general recommendations will need to be developed for the site's use, setting and feature categories. Like those for the church, the recommendations are philosophical and intended to provide guidance for the future planning and care of the site. In each case, full documentation, record drawings and photographs are necessary if appropriate plans and specifications are required to undertake the work recommended.

While it is possible to phase the work implementation, the work will require plans and specifications that should be comprehensive and complete in order to establish a methodology and sequencing. As noted all work should comply with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines*. Each phase of work should be reviewed to assure its appropriateness. Once the work is completed, then a strict care schedule of cyclical maintenance, including repairs and inspections, must be implemented.

a. Church Site, Setting, and Landscape

As part of the long-term objective to preserve, use, and interpret the church property, it is recommended that the overall site, setting and landscape be *rehabilitated* and/or *preserved* to an appearance reflective of its pre-1948 character. It is critical to acknowledge that the entire site and its historic development are important. The site, setting, and landscape deserve appropriate assessment and consideration regarding their historic appearance in order to provide an accurate portrait of how the church fits into the site during the period of significance.

b. Church Exterior Style and Design

As part of the objective to preserve and interpret MSBC, the building's historic exterior architectural style and design are recommended to be *rehabilitated* and/or *preserved* to an appearance reflective of its pre-1948 architectural character.

c. Exterior Elevations (North, South, East & West)

It is recommended that the exterior masonry facades including the baptistry addition be *rehabilitated* and/or *preserved* to an appearance reflecting the pre-1948 architectural character.

d. Accessibility

In the long-term the Basement and First floor levels of the church should be made accessible. If an exterior addition is required, careful planning and execution will be necessary to assure that the new work does not have a negative impact upon the building and is of a compatible design with the historic character of site, building, and neighborhood.

e. Exterior Features

As part of the objective to preserve and interpret the MSBC property, it is recommended that the church exterior be *rehabilitated* and/or *preserved* to be reflective of its architectural character pre-1948 by the removal or modification of post-1948 items. This does not apply to the work completed as part of the 2002-2010 rehabilitation efforts.

(1) Church Roofs: It is recommended that the c.2000s roofs be maintained and *rehabilitated* as necessary. The roofing surfaces are not readily visible from the public street and therefore are not a high priority for replication of the original roofing surfaces. The installation of a new wood shingle roof replicating the original roof is not required or necessary, however if funding were available in the future it would be a desired treatment, but it should be considered a low priority.

(2) Church Main Cornices & Roof Water Drainage: The existing c.2000s aluminum fascia, wood soffits, wood cornices, aluminum gutters, and downspouts are recommended for continued maintenance and *rehabilitation* until such time that it is necessary to replace them due to deterioration or the ability to restore the original conditions is financially possible. *Restoration* of the wood cornices and historically appropriate gutter system is the preferred treatment.

(3) Exterior Wood Trim: Any remaining exterior wood trim and features should be retained and continued maintenance and *rehabilitation* is recommended. Wood trim at W101, W113, WB04 and WB05 should be *restored* and *preserved.*

(4) Exterior Masonry: The brick exterior masonry should be retained and a *rehabilitation* treatment is recommended. The exterior brick was painted early in its history and is an appropriate treatment. The paint also conceal previous damage and the subsequent repairs. Refer also to Exterior Finishes below for further recommendations regarding masonry paint. The stone foundations should be *restored*, it is recommended that the late-20th century parging be removed and the stonework be fully restored and left with a natural finish.

(5) 1849 Church Stoop, Stairs & Entrance: As funding is available and possibly as part of a comprehensive accessibility project it is recommended that the 1849 church entrance, stoop and stairs be reconstructed. This would involve the removal of the 1952 Exonarthex and *reconstruction* of the now missing front entrance, doorway, stoop, stairs, and basement entrance to an appearance reflective of the Period of Significance.

(6) Windows: Retain and preserve the windows, trim, and features that were part of the 2007 rehabilitation project. In the long-term when replacement is again necessary, the rehabilitation designs should reflect the window units appearance during the Period of Significance. Windows WB04 and WB05 should be *restored* and *preserved.*

(7) Exterior Finishes: Continue appropriate maintenance of renewed exterior paint coatings. A short-term goal would include completing touch-up painting of recent patches at the foundation parging. In the long-term assess remaining historic features including trim and brick for historic colors; repaint with the color scheme in use during the Period of Significance. All future masonry coatings should be a "breathable" water-vapor permable, water-repellant coating and not latex paint.

e. Church Interior

(1) Interior Use, Style, Design and Plan: As part of the objective to preserve and interpret MSBC, the building's historic interior religious use, architectural style and design and plan are recommended to be *rehabilitated and/or preserved* reflective of the character at the end of the Period of Significance.

Certain aspects of the plan and features are missing and would need to be reconstructed, as part of the rehabilitation while the majority of the existing plan will be preserved. This would include removal of some later additions, reconstruction of some missing areas, and rehabilitation/restoration of most of the existing 1940s plan of the church. Rehabilitation of the interior plan is a long-term goal and can be achieved over many years.

(2) Basement – General: The basement of MSBC contains a wealth of historic fabric. The basement also has space for non-historic uses such as interpretive space and exhibits.

(3) **Basement Use:** The basement is recommended for continued religious/meeting use and *rehabilitation* with continued maintenance to an appearance reflective of its 1940s character near the end of the Period of Significance.

(4) **RB01 - Basement Foyer:** As a Short Term Goal maintain the non-historic period room and features and retain all architectural features for a use for the short-term. As a Long-Term Goal it is recommended that this space be returned to an appearance reflecting the Period of Significance including the reconstruction of the original Basement entrance. These actions will require demolition of the existing 1952 space.

(5) **RB02 - Basement Meeting Room:** The Basement Meeting Room is recommended for continued meeting use and with *rehabilitation* and continued maintenance to an appearance reflective of the pre-1948 Period of Significance. Pre-1948 Room Features should be rehabilitated and/or preserved with continued maintenance to an appearance reflective of its architectural character during the Period of Significance. These actions will require removal of and/or modification to some Post-1948 items.

(6) **RB03 - Southeast Room:** The Southeast Room is recommended for continued office use and rehabilitation with continued maintenance to an appearance reflecting the Period of Significance. Pre-1948 Room Features should be rehabilitated/ preserved with continued maintenance to an appearance reflective of its architectural character during the Period of Significance. These actions will require removal and/or modification to some Post-1948 items.

(7) **RB04 - Passage:** This room is recommended for continued passage use and rehabilitation retaining pre-1948 features and rehabilitation post-1948 items.

(8) **RB05 & RB11 - Kitchen & Utility Space:** The kitchen is recommended for continued kitchen use. It should be rehabilitated with continued maintenance to an appearance reflective of the Period of Significance. Continued upgrading of fixtures and kitchen equipment are recommended. The utility space is recommended to be completely rehabilitated with new furnace enclosure and serving area of design compatible with the Meeting Room.

As part of the objective to rehabilitate MSBC, it is recommended that this space be returned to an appearance reflective of its pre-1948 architectural character. These actions will require removal and/or modification to post-1948 items and installation of new features of appropriate design.

(9) **RB06 & RB12 – Women's Toilet Room & 1880s Water Closet:** The women's toilet area is recommended for continued toilet room use. The spaces are recommended to be completely rehabilitated (along with RB07 and RB08) with new compatible design. The pre-1948 features of this room are recommended to be retained and incorporated into the rehabilitation plan. As part of the rehabilitation of these spaces, it will require removal and/or modification to most Post-1948 items and installation of new features of appropriate design.

(10) RB08 - Baptistry Basement & Stairway: This basement space and stairway are recommended to be completely rehabilitated (along with RB06 and RB07) with new compatible design. The pre-1948 features of this room are recommended to be retained and incorporated into the rehabilitation plan. As part of the rehabilitation of these spaces, it will require removal and/or modification to most Post-1948 items and installation of new features of appropriate design.

(11) R101 & R102 - Exonarthex Entry Vestibule & Entry Foyer: As a short-term goal maintain the room and features and retain architectural features for a non-period room use. Restoration of Pre-1948 Conditions: As part of the long-term objective to preserve and interpret the MSBC property, it is recommended that this space be returned to an appearance reflective of its pre-1948 architectural character. These actions will require demolition of the existing 1952 space.

(12) R103 - Northwest Room: It is recommended as part of the long-term goals that the entire historic Narthex be rehabilitated to the appearance of the full narthex reflective of the pre-1948 period of significance. As part of the restoration of the Pre-1948 narthex conditions, this room will be re-opened up with R102 and R103. Early room features are recommended for rehabilitation. These actions may require removal, replacement and/or modification to some Post-1948 items. A very long-term goal, but not required, would be to reconstruct the former North Gallery Stair.

(13) R104 & 104a - Southwest Room & Closet: As part of the long-term objective to preserve and interpret the MSBC property, it is recommended that R104 be returned as part of the full original narthex configuration. These actions would require removal, replacement and/or modification to some post-1948 items. As part of the restoration of the Pre-1948 narthex conditions, this room will be re-opened up with R102 and R103. Early room features are recommended for rehabilitation and restoration. Room reconfiguration would require removal, replacement and/or modification to some Post-1948 items. The stairway and closet at the south end of the room are recommended for continued circulation and closet use and should be restored.

(14) R105 - South Gallery Stairway: The enclosed stairway is recommended for continued circulation use and rehabilitation to an appearance reflective of the Period of Significance. Pre-1948 room features are recommended for rehabilitation to an appearance reflective of its 1940s architectural character near the end of the Period of Significance. These actions may require removal, replacement and/or modification to some Post-1948 items.

(15) R106 - Auditorium: The auditorium is recommended for continued Auditorium use. Any proposed work should follow the rehabilitation treatment to reflect an appearance consistent with the architectural character of the Period of Significance. It is possible, of course, to incorporate contemporary features and treatments necessary for worship services. Restoration of specific historic features including wainscoting, window trim, cornices, flooring, etc. within the rehabilitation work is recommended. These actions may require removal, replacement and/or modification to some of the post-1948 items including the pine paneling, Masonite paneling, and carpeting.

(16) R107 - Baptistry: It is recommended that further study be conducted to evaluate the original 1908 condition of the Coxhead designed baptistry. Following the study, restoration of the specific modified features is recommended. The baptistry appears to have been altered somewhat after the 1948 fire. As part of the objective to preserve and interpret the MSBC property, it is recommended that the baptistry be restored to the 1908 period. These actions will require removal, replacement and/or modification to the post-1948 items. One short-term goal would be to have the original 1908 paint scheme evaluated through the use of historic architectural paint analysis, and a long-term goal would be to have the baptistry repainted based on the original scheme.

(17) R108 - Baptistry Office & Stairway: The office and stairway are recommended for continued office and stairway use with rehabilitation to an appearance reflective of pre-1948 architectural character. Office and stairway features are recommended for continued use with general rehabilitation. As a short-term goal provide for an insulated ceiling hatch. These actions will require removal, replacement and/or modification to some post-1948 items like the paneling and the suspended acoustic tile ceiling within the office. Repair of the plaster ceiling above the suspended ceiling should be a short-term priority as the office is essentially open to the attic space and substantial dirt and debris exists above the acoustic ceiling.

(18) RB09 - Rear Shed: The northeast corner shed is a utilitarian space with several surviving historic features and needs to be retained as a functional, utilitarian cellar way. It is not intended to be a restored space but a space that continues to function while protecting the historic features within it. The shed and the basement stairway are recommended for continued circulation with appropriate rehabilitation. Cellar way and stairway features are recommended for continued use with general preservation/rehabilitation treatments allowing for necessary code and use requirements. A short-term goal would be to eliminate the storage of fuel containers (both gasoline and propane) in this space. Further clean out of debris is also necessary, and evaluation of what best to store in this area is necessary.

(19) R201 - Gallery: The Gallery is recommended for continued use and general rehabilitation to an appearance reflective of its pre-1948 period of significance incorporating contemporary features and treatments necessary for worship services. Restoration of specific gallery features within the rehabilitation work is recommended. These actions may require removal, replacement and/or modification to post-1948 items like the OSB flooring. Long-term goals might include the replication of the three Gallery rail stanchion light fixtures, and possibly the North Gallery Stair.

(20) RA01 - Main Attic: The main attic with roof structure is an unoccupied space with many surviving historic features and needs to be retained as attic space; it is not intended to be a restored space but a space that continues to function while protecting the historic features within it. The main attic and roof structure are historic and it is recommended for continued use with appropriate repairs and maintenance as needed. The main attic and roof features are recommended for continued use with preservation of existing conditions.

During the HSR documentation it was observed that some ceiling joists appear to be close to the edge of the ledgers. Further study and implementation by qualified professionals is warranted in the short-term. It will be important to continually monitor conditions at the Main Attic particularly at the truss structure, framing, and to make sure no animals have access to the space. This is a common cyclical maintenance item that is over looked, especially due to the limited access through the Gallery ceiling hatch.

(21) RA02 - Baptistry Attic: The 1908 baptistry attic with roof structure is an inaccessible utilitarian space with many surviving historic features and needs to be retained as a functional, utilitarian attic space; it is not intended to be a restored space but a space that continues to function while protecting the historic features within it. The 1908 baptistry attic and roof structure are recommended for continued use with appropriate repairs and maintenance as needed. The framing features are recommended for continued use with preservation of existing conditions.

The 1908 baptistry attic and the post-1948 roof framing are recommended for continued use with preservation of existing conditions. Provide for a new ceiling hatch from R108 below for access to this space. Once access is provided conduct further evaluation of fire damaged framing. The attic space should be insulated as part of a long-range objective.

(22) Church Building Systems:

Heating System: The existing heating systems are recommended for continued use. As part of the building's long-term rehabilitation program replacement with new systems that will be less visible and offer efficient heating and ventilation to the church is recommended.

Plumbing System: The existing plumbing systems are recommended for continued use. As part of the building's long-term rehabilitation program, it is recommended that the toilet rooms be replaced with new facilities of accessible design possibly located in the basement of the baptistery once an accessible route can be provided to this space.

Electrical System: The building's electrical system is in need of rehabilitation. The new components should be of appropriate design to be compatible with and concealed within the building fabric. The entire system must meet all applicable codes and be installed by licensed professionals. Where possible and appropriate replicate historic electrical fixtures.

Threat Monitoring System: Install a concealed state-of-the-art alarm system to guard against intrusion, fire, heat and smoke to be direct wired to local agencies.

E. Maintenance & Monitoring

It is critical that the maintenance activities be evaluated and coordinated regularly. A comprehensive maintenance and monitoring plan with standards, objectives, procedure, process, and budget should be part of the basic administrative policy for the church from the onset.

Maintenance of buildings is the key to the long-term preservation of any built resource, its features, and its highly significant building fabric. This is all the more true for historic resources. Major capital projects can bring in funding resources for their implementation, but the day-to-day care and repairs that are constant must be just as aggressively approached, as are the high profile restoration projects. Again the best guard against building deterioration is maintenance as well as keeping building care costs down in the long run. A sound maintenance and building monitoring program is the foundation for good building preservation.

Maintenance is the un-sung partner to the successful historic site and preservation of historic resources. Thus, the development of a routine and cyclical maintenance plan for the Michigan Street Baptist Church and site are critical. Unfortunately, routine maintenance efforts are often some of the first budget items to get cut in the face of more pressing (but not more important) budget issues. Stewards of the church should not let this happen.

A sound maintenance program has two parts: first, monitoring and observation and second, routine care and repair. It is the routine monitoring sequence that usually does not get completed, and only becomes important when problems become visible, and then a serious evaluation has to be completed. The process is simple - look and observe - then take an action to fix the problems. Done annually, the big repairs and repair costs can usually be kept at bay. In this case an aggressive cyclical repair program not only will address maintenance issues but also start the buildings on their way to restoration of historic and structural integrity.

With churches that are organization owned and operated, it is usually a prudent method to establish a committee (as few as two people) whose charge it is to keep tabs on the physical condition of the building. This should include routine inspections of the building and its systems, a follow-up report to those responsible for budgetary care of the building, and then implementation of necessary maintenance repairs. By observing the whole building routinely, any changes in condition will be apparent, and their cause can be addressed when it is still a minor problem. By avoiding crisis-type building maintenance efforts, building care costs can be managed and building deterioration nipped at early stages. However, it is imperative that the observations and routine maintenance remain routine, and not be overlooked or eliminated over time.

Developing an action plan to address deterioration of physical conditions requires careful and thoughtful planning because of the historic nature of the resource. Physical condition generally implies the extent of damage or deterioration to a building. But with regard to historic buildings, not only is the deterioration of building fabric a consideration, but the effect that the deterioration has upon the building's historic significance and integrity must also be considered. Repairs, maintenance and alterations to historic buildings must not be and/or planned for in a vacuum; consideration of the historic impact is as important as fixing the broken element. Where life safety and structural issues are factors remedies preserving the historic condition still can be developed.

As noted in the HSR when we look at "existing conditions" we must always assess it in terms of two types of deterioration. First, we look at the state of deterioration of the fabric or material itself, and second we look at the state of deterioration of the historic integrity of the building. This is not a complex or cumbersome process; it simply assures that in cases of expediency or emergency, inappropriate repairs are avoided. It should be a cardinal rule that all repairs, maintenance and

alterations be considered in terms of impact to (1) the building features involved and to (2) building historic integrity.

A cautionary caveat should be noted about the term "maintenance free". There is no such thing as a maintenance free building, be it new or old. However, low maintenance design is possible and should be encouraged as long as the design is compatible with the historic materials and construction.

"Pass the Word, Preventive Maintenance is Preservation" appears on the business card on one of the most well-known preservation conservators, Harrison Goodall.[276] He continuously advises clients on the plain simplicity of the fact that a sound routine maintenance plan is the best money any stewards for historic sites can spend. He points out that the historic structures and other cultural resources are different from most facilities and have special needs. Preservation of their historic fabric often requires a more systematic level of maintenance and care, in particular systems that are predictive to help guide annual site operations. Preservation and maintenance plans need to be holistic and look at every aspect the site. Their potential effect on the building fabric requires evaluation and development using the same standards as listed above. This also includes housekeeping maintenance as well as annual maintenance and routine repairs, all of which are part of a Maintenance Plan.

Goodall notes that preventive maintenance is the action that is most often ignored in the preservation of historic buildings. As a result, the very fabric and workmanship that we are trying to preserve is being compromised and deteriorates creating costly repairs and a loss of integrity. He also observes that preventive maintenance is the most important and doable action for the long-term preservation of historic buildings and sites. Along with restoration, rehabilitation, and reconstruction planning for the building and site needs to be a vigilant and aggressive routine; the holistic maintenance plan should never sacrificed for other short term priorities. An effective maintenance program should be part of the basic administrative policy for the site.

Information about and model maintenance plans are readily available from many sources. Several good publications are available through the National Park Service that specifically addresses maintenance of historic sites and buildings. While somewhat tedious these publications are helpful in the planning for and setting up an effective plan.

1. Establish a comprehensive cyclical maintenance program for the building. The maintenance program must have three critical elements to be successful:
    a. Routine observation and inspection of existing and ongoing conditions that are translated annually into priorities and needs (this must happen on a routine schedule),
    b. Implementation on an annual basis of maintenance and repairs that will serve to catch up on past deferred maintenance issues and to begin the identification of reoccurring maintenance / repair needs.
    c. Follow-up every year with this process to eventually get on top of maintenance and repairs. This process will never stop; to be successful it must be just what it says, cyclical and routine. The church will continue to need work every year, and a plan to address it needs to be in place and implemented as a highest priority.
2. Within the cyclical maintenance plan identify and address first the most threatening issues and get them under control.

[276] Harrison Goodall's company, Conservation Services, provides superb building and site maintenance consultation programs. Digitally mastered computer programs for condition assessment, budgeting, implementation, cyclical operations, and monitoring of maintenance needs for multiple resource sites are provided in their programs *Facilities Tracker* and *CR Manager*.

3. Coordinate planning and implementation of repair and maintenance work for all building components.
4. Make sure that repairs are of appropriate design and material for the historic features being addressed. Develop a set of standard repair guidelines and specifications for most of the routine repairs that are repetitive such as masonry repointing, trim repair and the like.
5. Establish both policy and budgeting priorities that buy into the absolute necessity for a strong and comprehensive maintenance and repair program and see that it stays in place virtually in perpetuity.

Physical conditions and existing conditions are terms that are often used interchangeably; they become more interwoven when addressing historic resources. Physical and existing conditions are interpreted by the layperson to imply the extent of damage or deterioration to a building. But with regard to condition and historic buildings, not only the deterioration of building fabric needs consideration, but the implication that the deterioration has upon the building's historic significance and design integrity must also be considered. Planning for and executing repairs, maintenance, and alterations to historic buildings must not be undertaken within a vacuum; consideration of the historic impact is equally as important as fixing the broken element.

As noted and worth repeating, this often becomes problematic is when life safety and structural issues must be addressed. Still, remedies considering the historic condition can be developed that will not have a negative impact upon the historic designs and features of the resource. Since condition assessments always look to assess the extent of deterioration (or lack of it), when we look at "existing conditions" we must always assess it in terms of two types of deterioration. First, we look at the state of deterioration of the fabric or material itself, and second we look at the state of deterioration of the design integrity of the building. This is not a complex or cumbersome process; it simply assures that in the name of expediency, emergency, critical need, and the like that inappropriate repairs are avoided. It should be a cardinal rule that all repairs, maintenance, and alterations be considered in terms of impact to both the building material at hand and to the historic design integrity.

F. General Deterioration

Deterioration from wear and tear and environmental conditions never cease. The climate in Buffalo, is tough on building exteriors. The extensive repairs and reconstruction work done in 2002-2010 accomplished major stabilization and rehabilitation of the church. The work completed, however, remains exposed to daily deterioration from use and the elements; deterioration continues and requires routine observation and repair to keep it in check. Deterioration forces never quit; due diligence to combat them should never quit either.

G. Recommendations

During the building site visits for the preparation of the Historic Structure Report observations of building features and components were completed with the following summary observations. As noted above, many non-threatening condition repairs correspond to the rehabilitation recommendations as presented in the HSR. The desire to "fix" many of the non-threatening conditions, while of concern, is recommended to be tempered with the understanding that most of these "fixes" can be undertaken within the restoration program developed for the property. Those listed in *italics* while mentioned here, can wait and would be reasonably addressed and coordinated through a rehabilitation project.

As noted in the HSR the development of an appropriate rehabilitation plan must be as comprehensive as possible, thus providing for the appropriate treatment of all building and site features within the program desired for the building and site.

1. Site & Setting

The site and setting of historic buildings should receive as much attention and care in planning as the building itself since they influence the visual context in which the building is viewed. The basic relationship of the church to the site has not changed since the mid-nineteenth century. The site is a small circumspect city lot with three vacant lots to the north. With modern demolitions in the neighborhood and along this street, the church still continues to anchor this area of the street.

There are no high priority items that are urgent with regard to the Site & Setting. The following items are mentioned for general information, planning, and consideration; they in themselves are low priority items that do not pose a threat to the property.

a. Landscaping & Built Site Features: The urban streetscape character of the setting is important to retain.

   Short-Term: Until further research and subsequent restoration is undertaken, continue to maintain the site and landscape in the status quo. Do not add new site features until site documentation has been completed. Document and record any and all work done on the site in the short-term.

   Long-Term: Based upon documentation and further research, restore the site to an appearance compatible with the Period of Significance. Further study is warranted.

b. Site Archaeology: Initiate an active archaeological investigation program for the site, foundations, and missing site features. This program could be coordinated with regional universities as an on-going annual program. Site archaeological investigations do not have to wait for the rehabilitation program; they can be undertaken at any time.

c. Vehicular Access and Parking: Maintain the existing driveways and parking areas on the adjacent lots to the north of the church.

2. Building Exterior

Appearance: The long-term objective is to restore the building exterior conditions at MSBC to reflect its appearance during the Period of Significance as recommended in the HSR. Plans and work project undertakings will require research and appropriate design as part of the overall restoration plan.

Building Exterior Historic Character and Features: As noted, most of the historic character and features are discussed in the recommendations section of the HSR; most are in sound condition and with continued regular maintenance should be expected to last into the foreseeable future.

Roofs & Roof Water Drainage: The roof and roof drainage system were rehabilitated as part of the 2002-2010 project. They remain in good condition; the lower sections of downspouts need realignment, reconnection and extension to prevent water from accumulating near the foundations.

Stone Masonry: The 1845 and 1908 stone foundations and 1952 concrete foundations remain in sound condition. As part of future building rehabilitation or maintenance work, undertake appropriate stone masonry parging repair or complete removal and masonry repair as appropriate. Cement parging on stone foundations has cracked and is loose in several locations; continue monitoring with routine repairs. Continue to monitor south brick wall where bulge repairs were undertaken for new movement or masonry cracks.

Windows, Doors, and Wood Detailing: These features were replaced or rehabilitated as part of the 2002-2010 work projects. The features remain in good condition with limited isolated wood exposure and deterioration. As part of future building rehabilitation or maintenance work, undertake appropriate repairs or replacement.

Exterior Finishes: Exterior paint finishes were renewed as part of the 2002-2010 work projects. Continue to monitor the exterior finishes for failure; plan for routine touch-up and finish renewal as needed. *As part of future rehabilitation and maintenance work, touch-up and renew the exterior finishes with permeable coatings as appropriate.*

3. Building Interior

Like the exterior, the interior of the church retains strong historic character with a vast majority of its historic features still in place. Many require repair and rehabilitation and may be addressed through future rehabilitation projects. No items appear to pose a threat, although several items do require further investigation of conditions.

a. Interior Rehabilitation: The long-term objective is to rehabilitate the architectural interior conditions of the church to their general appearance during the Period of Significance as recommended. Plans and work project undertakings will require research and appropriate design as part of the overall restoration plan.

b. Interior Historic Character and Features: As noted, most of the historic character and features are discussed in the recommendations section of the HSR; most are in sound condition and with continued regular maintenance should be expected to last until further rehabilitation is undertaken. The one exception is the plaster cornice in the Auditorium as noted below.

c. Building Plan: The 1849 plan of the church remains largely intact with minimal alterations. Retain the plan for now and rehabilitate the plan as part of future rehabilitation efforts.

d. Flooring, Wood Details and Finishes: Most of these features are discussed in the HSR; most are in sound condition and with continued regular maintenance should be expected to last until future rehabilitation work is implemented. Future removal of carpet is recommended but not required.

e. Timber Framing: As part of cyclical maintenance inspections, annually undertake a thorough inspection of the Attic trusses, framing, roof plates and Auditorium ceiling joists, looking for further deterioration and any movement. If deterioration/movement are noted and repairs warranted, appropriate follow-up repairs should be undertaken with qualified professionals.

   Carefully remove the 1918 wood ceiling boards and open up the east section of ceiling in the Basement Meeting Room RB02 where the recent steel jack posts have been

installed. Determine the reason(s) for overhead framing deflection and undertake appropriate repairs. Carefully reinstall the 1918 wood ceiling boards.

f. Auditorium Plaster Surfaces: Most of these features are discussed in the HSR and while most appear to be in sound condition large sections of plasterwork are deteriorated.

Large sections of the plaster cornice have been replaced with wood and other sections are cracked, dislodged and damaged. Several of the plaster label moldings are missing sections, and are cracked and damaged. Sections of the flat plaster walls are deteriorated and covered with modern materials to conceal the damage. The entire flat plaster ceiling has been covered with drywall and the center plaster medallion ring removed. Of all the interior historic features the auditorium plaster features have the most pressing need for stabilization and repair. Numerous cracks in the cornice and separation from the wall show in some locations. The cornice merits inspection in the near future, and if warranted, follow-up repairs undertaken.

As part of rehabilitation and maintenance work, undertake a comprehensive assessment and repair of plaster surfaces and features in the auditorium including the walls, cornice, and the missing plaster medallion.

g. Heating and Plumbing Systems: These systems appear to be adequate for the short-term.

Recommendations for the heating system include a new concealed utility room, concealed or less obtrusive basement ducting, and a more efficient distribution system. If desired during the rehabilitation of the system, the addition of air-cooling could be possible. Possible relocation of the furnace to the rear baptistry or Southeast Room basement with flue on the rear wall could be considered; it would provide a remote interior location for the furnace as well as open up the entire northeast corner of the meeting room for public use.

The toilet rooms are outdated and convoluted in design. As part of future rehabilitation two new appropriately sized accessible toilet rooms are recommended possibly located in the same general location in the baptistry basement. As part of any rehabilitation work, assess the plumbing system lines and service and the sewer lines. If needed make appropriate repairs.

h. Electrical System: Numerous questionable wiring conditions were noted in the building. In the short-term replace all extension cords and non-code compliant wiring. Verify that all junction boxes and outlet locations are covered and make sure wiring is of appropriate design for its location and use.

As part of future rehabilitation or within three years have the entire electrical system assessed and then rehabilitated to bring all of it up to code. Install a new underground service with meter on the back of the building. Possibly relocate the electrical panel box to a utility space within the Basement. New wiring should be concealed in all locations and surface-mounted "exposed" wire raceway and conduit avoided where possible.

Implement a cyclical professional inspection plan of the electrical system.

i. Threat Monitoring Systems: It is recommended that a concealed state-of-the-art monitoring system for fire, smoke, temperature, and intrusion be installed, coordinated with appropriate alarms and notification systems as well as direct wired to local agencies.

j. Fire Suppression: The Michigan Street Baptist Church has an unfortunate history of building fires. Thankfully none of them have resulted in substantial destruction. It is paramount that fire suppression equipment be installed to put out fires as they start, and before public agencies arrive.

As a short-term goal the number of fire extinguishers should be increased and staff/volunteers should be trained in their use. Extingushers should be routinely inspected for operation and placement. Stewards should develop a disaster plan in case of fire at the church and coordinate an annual site visit with the Buffalo Fire Department to alert them to various conditions at the church.

Any historic building with wood frame construction as well as collections is vulnerable to fire. Fortunately, sources for fire are limited to those within the building, usually electrical, cooking, or heating. However, once a fire has started, buildings such as the MSBC would be rapidly consumed. As part of a future rehabilitation program it is recommended that along with a state-of-the-art monitoring system, the installation of a sprinkler system be investigated. In addition, it is recommended that the stewards of the building consider having all the interior roof and attic framing and sheathing treated with a chemical fire retardant to help prevent the spread of fire, should one get started.

Long-Term: As part of a future rehabilitation program, it is strongly recommended that a dry-pipe fire suppression system be installed throughout the church.

k. Accessibility: As noted in the exterior section, a pressing goal (whether long or short term) would be to develop a comprehensive assessment of possible accessibility solutions. With those recommendations, careful planning and execution will be necessary to assure that the new work is does not have a negative impact upon the building interior, building exterior, and is of compatible design with the historic character of site and building.

l. Interpretive Fixtures and Devices: Develop and coordinate a comprehensive interpretive program to include both displays and sound for visitors that is appropriately integrated with the historic plan and features of the church.

H. Planning Initiatives

The following planning initiatives are recommended for the church facility.

1. With the understanding that the Michigan Street Baptist Church facility is a most significant historic resource with many intact historic features, it is recommended that the stewards develop a **Long-Range Master Plan** that establishes a written policy that all maintenance, repairs, alterations, and future design work shall preserve the historic character of the building and comply with the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties.*

2. As noted above, develop a **Preservation Plan** as a component of the Long-Range Master Plan including a budget and schedule for the necessary restoration program as recommended

in the HSR. The Preservation Plan would include interior restorations, exterior restorations, site restoration, further paint analysis, heating and electrical system modifications that are compatible with the historic character of the building and comply with NYS building code requirements. This effort will require extensive planning on the part of the stewards. The interior plan for restoration and rehabilitation will, of necessity, be closely aligned with the comprehensive Long-Range Master Plan.

3. Develop and implement a **Disaster Preparedness Plan** specifically for the facility. This plan should focus on potential fire threat. Coordinate the plan with local officials and the fire department. Make provision for immediate response in the case of alarm.

4. Develop a cyclical **Maintenance Plan & Schedule** and an annual budget for the care of the building. Develop and implement a proactive building monitoring program with a fixed schedule, a follow-up report format, and staff assignments responsible for undertaking the monitoring.

5. Prepare a **Landscape Study** with recommendations to guide all future work at both the historic site and adjoining lots owned by the facility.

6. Conduct further **Historic Research** and investigation to further advance the historic record of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and Buffalo's African American community.

7. Prepare an **Accessibility Evaluation** and recommendations for the site and building.

8. Host a **Visioning** session or workshop to solicit ideas and dreams for the church and the immediate neighborhood. Invite the current congregation, neighborhood activists and leaders, elected officials, planners, preservationists, and all stakeholders to discuss a vision for the future of MSBC. Nothing has to be decided at the meeting but the event provides a forum where everyone has a "voice" in suggesting ideas and a vision for the future of property.

I. Further Research Recommendations

While much information has been documented to date by many historians and researchers regarding the early African American community in Buffalo and the history of the Michigan Street Baptist Church further study and research can only improve our full understanding of the resource.

The richness of resource material, much of it now available online, is a major strength for research in Buffalo's African American history. On the other hand, key resources remain difficult to use, primarily because they are not online and searchable. Unlike many cities, for example, Buffalo does not have its major newspapers online for the period between 1924 and 1989, and online papers before and after those days are only spotty. Fultonhistory.com, for example, has scanned the *Buffalo Courier and Republican* (1862-1884), the *Buffalo New York Daily Courier* (1847-88), the *Buffalo Morning Express* (1880-1924), and New York City's *New York Age* (which contains many references to Buffalo). The only Buffalo newspapers available through New York State's Historical Newspapers, online through many libraries, including the New York State Library, was the *Niagara Journal*, published from 1815 to 1819. No Buffalo papers appeared in online format in databases such as America's Historical Newspapers, ProQuest, the Library of Congress's "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," and America's Historical Newspapers.

Most of Buffalo's newspapers are available on microfilm. Particularly important for African American history are two African American newspapers in Buffalo. The *Buffalo Challenger* is available on microfilm from September 1963 to the present. The *Buffalo Criterion* is available from

February 1957 to December 1974 on microfilm and from August 1964 to July 1980 and March 1994 to the present in hard copy at *Grovesner Library*. Another newspaper, the *Empire Star*, is available from January 1946 to December 1961 on microfilm. Searching microfilm reels for a major project that extends over time is difficult, however, since we cannot read the entire paper to locate a specific event.

Other key sources will be much more accessible when they are online. *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life* is available online back to 2001 but many key articles, including one by James Bilotta on African Americans in Buffalo in 1860, are only available in hard copy. The 1855 New York State manuscript census is an invaluable resource for studying African Americans who may have escaped from slavery and settled in New York State, but this is currently available only on microfilm or in hard copy in county clerk's offices.

Recent deeds and mortgages are available online through the Erie County Clerk's office, but earlier ones remain only in hard copy. Master's theses and other scholarly essays about Buffalo would also be far more accessible if they were online. [277]

When they appear online, these and other key sources will make much more accessible a whole new treasure trove of material for the history of Buffalo, including the history of African Americans in Buffalo. Future work might well focus on:

1. Editing the diary of George Washington Jonson (Buffalo lawyer, abolitionist, and diarist) whose journal, if edited and put online, would be an amazing resource.

2. Continuing a survey of a) buildings that remain in the Michigan Street area from the mid-nineteenth century, connecting them to this story, and b) of sites relating to this story, whether containing their buildings or not. This would enhance the opportunities for tourism, so that people could take a walking/driving tour of relevant abolitionist, Underground Railroad, and African American sites in addition to the Michigan Street Baptist Church, the Nash House, and Colored Musicians' Club.

3. Biographies of people associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church, including the Rev. J. Edward Nash and Francis Jackson Nash family and the Mary B. Talbert and William Talbert family. Families such as the Peyton Harris-Talbert family, Abner H. Francis and Sydna Francis, and Storum-Loguen families would also be fascinating.

4. Locating places of origin for early members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in Virginia, since so many people affiliated with the church came from Virginia. This is at the cutting edge of current research in the Underground Railroad. The Virginia Historical Society host's an online database website called "Unknown No Longer: A Database of Virginia Slave Names," that might be useful.

   The database intends to increase access to its varied collections relating to Virginians of African descent. http://www.unknownnolonger.vahistorical.org/

5. Continuing to fill in the list of Underground Railroad incidents in Buffalo. The list that we have produced here is a compilation from secondary works by Cynthia Van Ness and Christopher Densmore, along with some information from Jean Richardson and Judith

[277] James D. Bilotta, "A Quantitative Approach to Buffalo's Black Population of 1860," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* (July 1988): 19-34.

Wellman, with the addition of several additional incidents from primary sources. More, however, will surely be found.[278]

6. There may well be more info in Canadian sources, not only in Toronto but also in St. Catherine's, Hamilton, Windsor, Buxton, and perhaps elsewhere. There are also so many connections between Buffalo and Detroit, that it would be worth checking newspapers and other material in Detroit, too. One source that could quickly be checked for names is the Canadian census, available online for 1851 and then for Ontario every ten years from 1871 to 1911. http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/census/index-e.html

7. Further research will most likely reveal strong connections between members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and work and travel on the Buffalo waterfront.

8. An excellent research project would be to compare literacy rates of African Americans with those of people in various European American ethnic groups, as noted in the 1850 census (which identified whether or not people were literate, including whether they could read but not write). These statistics could also be controlled for such factors as age, property ownership, place of birth, and also for occupation.

J. Conclusions

The Michigan Street Baptist Church is an architecturally and historically significant treasure that helps tell the remarkable story of individuals who came to Buffalo to start a new life and worship together as a community. For African Americans, as for other Buffalo immigrants, churches formed the anchor of neighborhood life.

By evaluating the church using the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places program criteria the resource is historically and architecturally significant under criterion "A" as associated with events or activities that have generally made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, criterion "B" as a resource that is associated with the lives of persons significant in the past, and criterion "C" as a resource that embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction. The former Michigan Street Baptist Church meets these criteria because of its association with early African American history both before and after the Civil War, for its association with prominent regional and national individuals affiliated with abolition, the Underground Railroad & African American social reform movements, and finally as an excellent example of a pre-Civil War era vernacular community church building.

The documentation of the historical and physical development completed as part of this HSR has added a much-needed component to the full understanding of this facility. By understanding who the members and leaders were, the various congregations, the periods of growth and the periods of need, the changes and additions to the building and modifications made due to fires, we are finally able to record an accurate history of the evolution of the historic resource.

The building, which retains many original features, also retains historic integrity and therefore should be appropriately preserved and restored for ongoing and future use. The features of

[278] Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York," University Archives, University at Buffalo, http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/; Cynthia Van Ness, "Still they come": some eyewitness accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History*. 36:1 (January 2012), Online at Questia, http://www.questia.com/library/1G1-280967667/still-they-come-some-eyewitness-accounts-of-the; Judith Wellman, "Underground Railroad Sites," in edr, *Niagara Fall Underground Railroad Heritage Area Management Plan* (Niagara Falls: Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area Commission, 2011) www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org; Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:2 (July 2003).

Michigan Street Baptist Church establish and define the historic character that has survived over 160 years of development and associated alterations. The architectural components are a story unto themselves, each with its own history, integrity, and relative significance. Taken together, we are provided a better understanding of the historic character of this landmark church.

With the Historic Structure Report in-hand the Buffalo-Niagara Freedom Station Coalition, Inc. as stewards of the facility can now plan for and institute the appropriate short and long-term goals and recommendations as outlined in this report. These actions will ultimately lead to a functional, well-maintained historic resource and preserved for future generations to treasure.

Rev. J. Edward Nash, the long time pastor of Michigan Street Baptist, wrote in his sermon notes of March 20, 1898 "We are all building some kinds of structures. It is to our advantage to know how those structures are pleasing or rather serving God."[279]

[279] Quoted in Terrence Henry, *Selected Sermons of Rev. J. Edward Nash, Sr., Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1898-99* (Buffalo: Monroe Fordham Regional History Center, State University of New York College at Buffalo, [2011].

APPENDIX A – NOTES ON SOURCES

Rather than develop a formal bibliography, we have carefully documented the sources we used in this essay in footnotes. We refer you to these for specific references. This brief essay is an attempt to summarize strengths and weaknesses in the current state of research resources for African American history in Buffalo and to suggest a few possibilities for future research.

Research on the Michigan Street Baptist Church has been both easier and harder than for many similar projects. On the one hand, thanks to the hard work of many people and many institutions over a long period of time, much has already been done on the history of this remarkable building and on African Americans in Buffalo. Vertical files at the Buffalo History Museum Resource Center and the Grosvenor Room of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library provided quick access to much information, especially on twentieth century history. Many thanks to the many unsung librarians and clerks who collected this material. Annual reports of the Buffalo Baptist Association records at the Buffalo History Museum and the American Baptist Historical Association also provided key information from 1840 to 1862 about the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Buffalo city directories and historical maps gave us key information about the building and people affiliated with it.

The long-term work of the Afro-American Historical Association of the Niagara Frontier, maintained in conjunction with the History Department at Buffalo State College, has made a remarkable and irreplaceable contribution to the study of African American history in Buffalo. They preserve records relating to African American history in western New York, publish the influential journal *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life,* and maintain the Monroe Fordham Regional History Center, Buffalo State College. They did the microfilming for the J. Edward Nash papers, an amazing collection of material relating to the work of the man who for sixty-one years (1892-1952) ministered to the pastoral needs of the Michigan Street Baptist Church congregation.

Thanks also to the remarkable work of so many people and groups who have made key parts of African American history in western New York available on the web. The Circle Association created the indispensable online African American History of Western New York (http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/hwny.html). Christopher Densmore, former archivist at the University of Buffalo, created a website on "Reform, Religion, and the Underground Railroad in Western New York" (http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/), which remains a key resource. Barbara Seals-Nevergold and Peggy Brooks-Bertram created the Uncrowned Queens and Uncrowned Community Builders project (http://uncrownedcommunitybuilders.com/), an extraordinary example of how people can highlight the importance of a whole community for a national audience. Cynthia Van Ness's research for BuffaloResearch.com is a remarkable collection of essential material.

National online sources yielded treasures of information for the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Abolitionist and African American newspapers (available through Accessible Archives and fultonhistory.com, and the Genealogy Bank) provided important details. So did primary sources (especially African American memoirs and biographical dictionaries) available through the University of North Carolina's DocSouth and elsewhere online. Ancestry.com yields federal census records and city directories for Buffalo. The richness of this material, much of it now available online, is a major strength for research in Buffalo's African American history. On the other hand, key resources remain difficult to use, primarily because they are not online and searchable. Unlike many cities, for example, Buffalo does not have its major newspapers online for the period between 1924 and 1989, and online papers before and after those days are only spotty. Fultonhistory.com, for example, has scanned the *Buffalo Courier and Republican* (1862-1884), the *Buffalo New York Daily Courier* (1847-88), the *Buffalo Morning Express* (1880-1924), and New York City's *New York Age* (which contains many references to Buffalo). The only Buffalo newspapers available through New York State's Historical Newspapers (online through many libraries, including the New York State Library) and Genealogy Bank (a subscription service on the web) was the

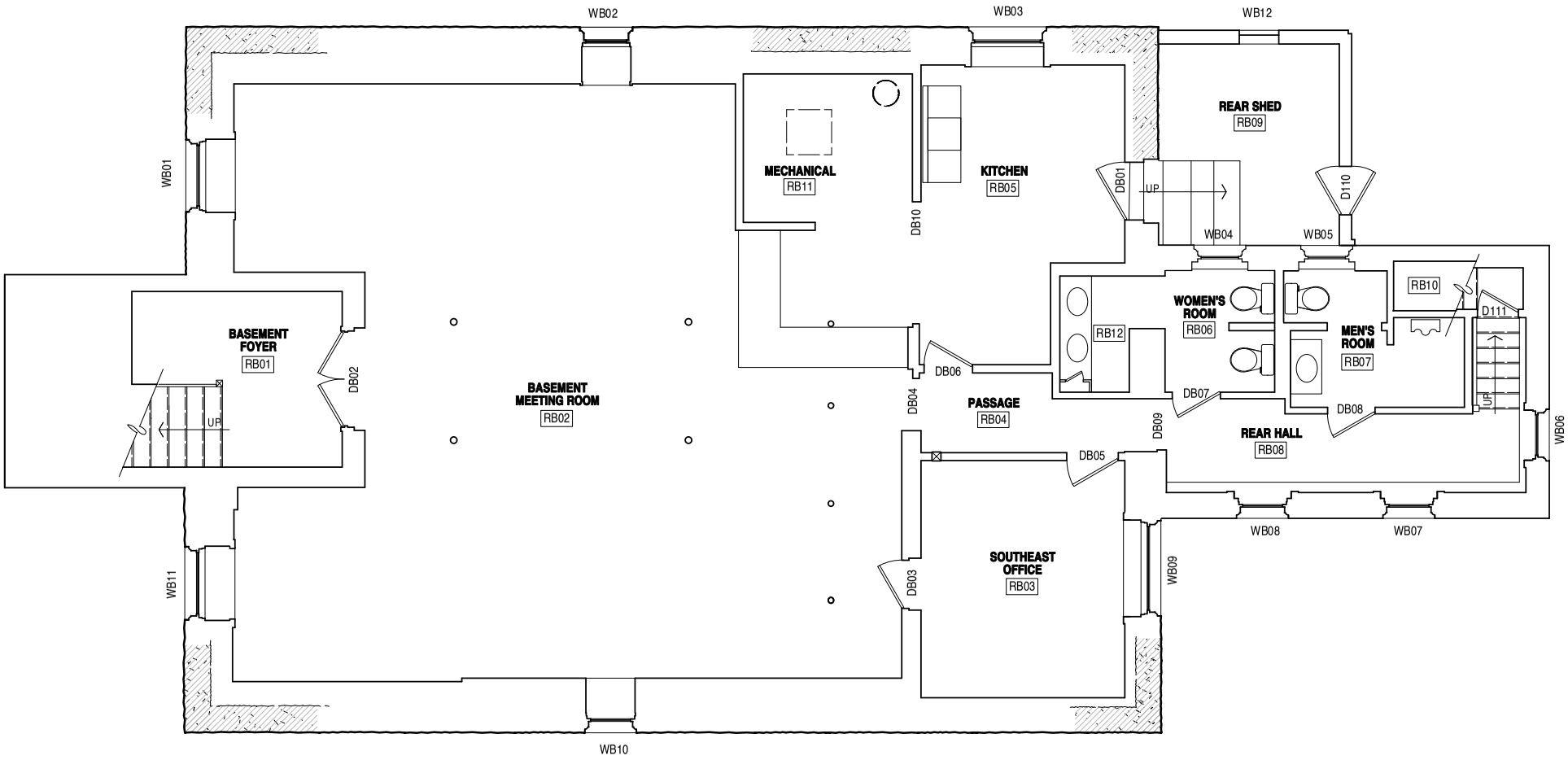
Niagara Journal, published from 1815 to 1819. No Buffalo papers appeared in online format in databases such as America's Historical Newspapers, ProQuest, the Library of Congress's "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers," and America's Historical Newspapers.

Key secondary sources provided a baseline for research on the Michigan Street Baptist Church. One of the most important of these was a speech given at the re-opening of the Michigan Street Baptist Church after major renovations—including the addition of the current baptistry in December 1908 by church member Mary Burnett Talbert. Talbert relied heavily on personal memories of Emeline Coy. Emeline Coy, with her sister Sarah, had been born in Virginia, likely in slavery. Coy migrated to Buffalo sometime before 1842, when she joined the Michigan Street Baptist Church about age seventeen. In 1860, the Buffalo City Directory listed Emeline Coy as a boarding house owner, living with her sister Sarah at 381 Michigan Street. When Coy recorded her reminiscences in 1904, she was seventy-nine years old, "in good health, with a vivid and clear recollection of the many incidents connected with her Church," noted Talbert. Monroe Fordham's essay, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church," relied heavily on Mary Talbert's essay, augmented by newspapers, city directories, and other material. Felix Armfield, Director of the Nash House Museum, has explored photographic material relating to Rev. J. Edward Nash from the twentieth century. Lillian Serece Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: Creation of an African American Community in Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940*, joins many articles from *Afro-Americans in New York History and Life* and elsewhere on the history of African Americans in Buffalo.[252]

[252]Mary B. Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March 1836-1908," unpublished manuscript, American Baptist Historical Society and Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society; Monroe Fordham, "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 27:1 (January 1997); Felix Armfield, "The Rev. J. Edward Nash House: A Cornerstone of History and Culture," *Western New York Heritage Magazine* (Winter 2004), 30-37; Felix Armfield, "J. Edward Nash and the Michigan Avenue Baptist Church," podcast, 2006, http://newsandevents.buffalostate.edu/podcasts/lecture-j-edward-nash-and-michigan-avenue-baptist-church. Monroe Fordham attributed the 1908 history of the Michigan Street Baptist Church to Rev. J. Edward Nash, but this essay was clearly written and delivered by Mary Talbert. The end of the essay noted, "Written and read by Mrs. William H. Talbert at the re-opening of the Church December 27, 1908." References to this manuscript are attributed here to Talbert rather than Nash. Lillian Serece Williams, *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: Creation of an African American Community in Buffalo, New York, 1900-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

APPENDIX B: DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS

The following documentation drawings have been prepared by Crawford & Stearns - Architects and Preservation Planners of Syracuse, New York, as a component of the Historic Structure Report. In the course of ongoing field investigation the firm measured accessible portions of the structure and prepared the CAD plans and exterior elevations to reflect conditions as existed in 2012.



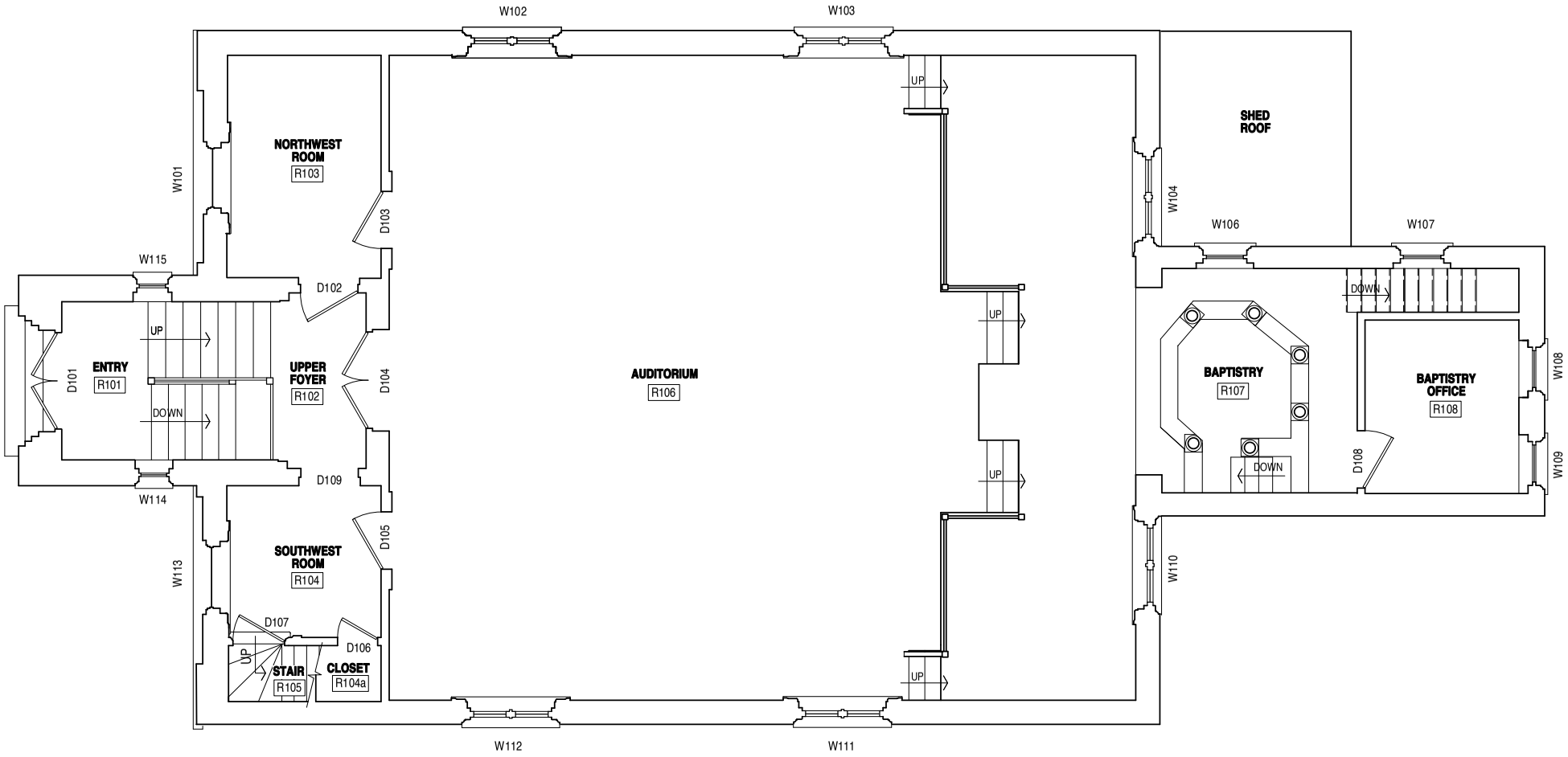
NORTH

1 / EX-B **BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN** 1/8" = 1'-0"

0 2 4 FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013



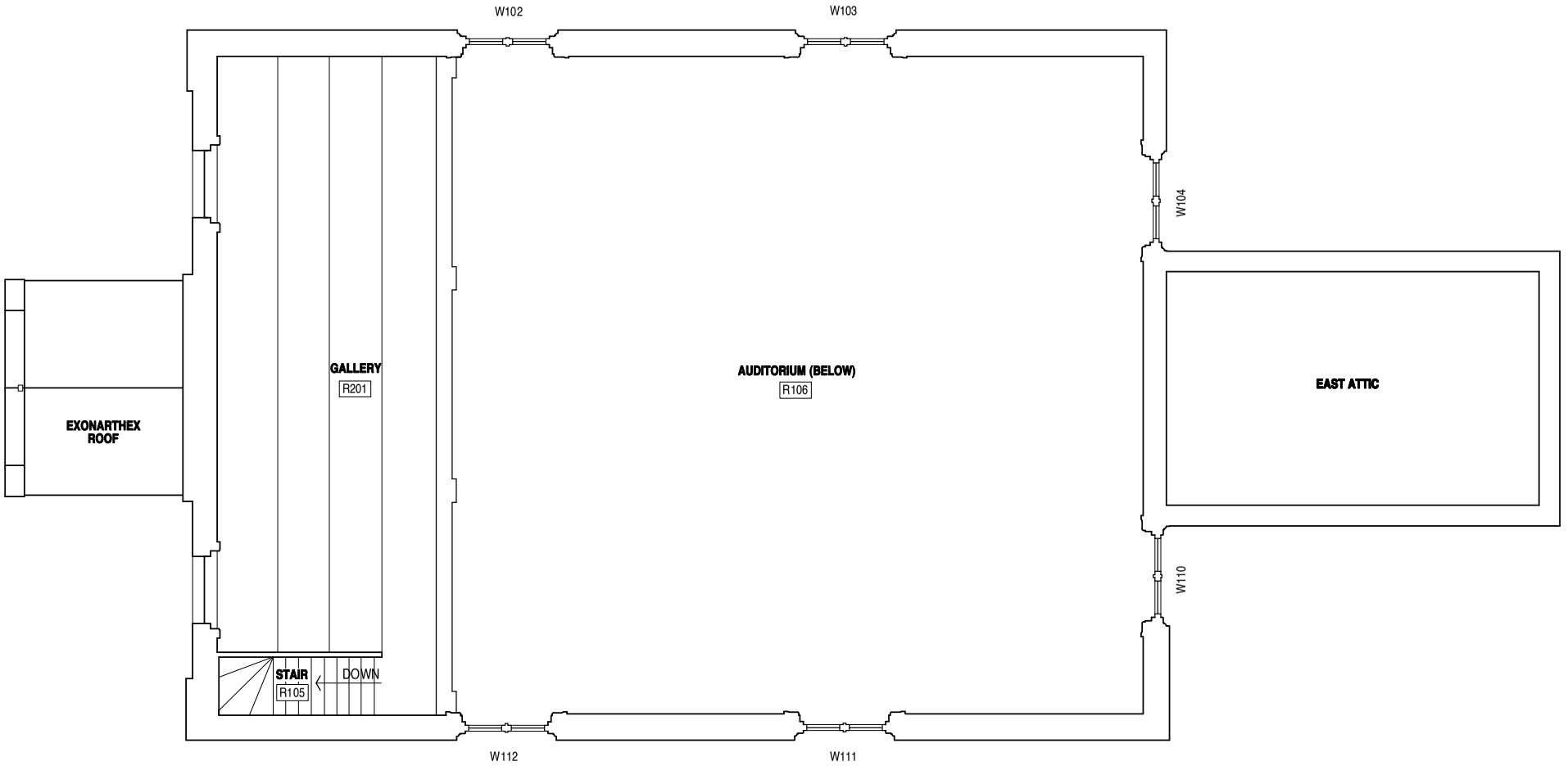
NORTH

1 / EX-1 **FIRST FLOOR PLAN** 1/8" = 1'-0"

0 2 4 FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013

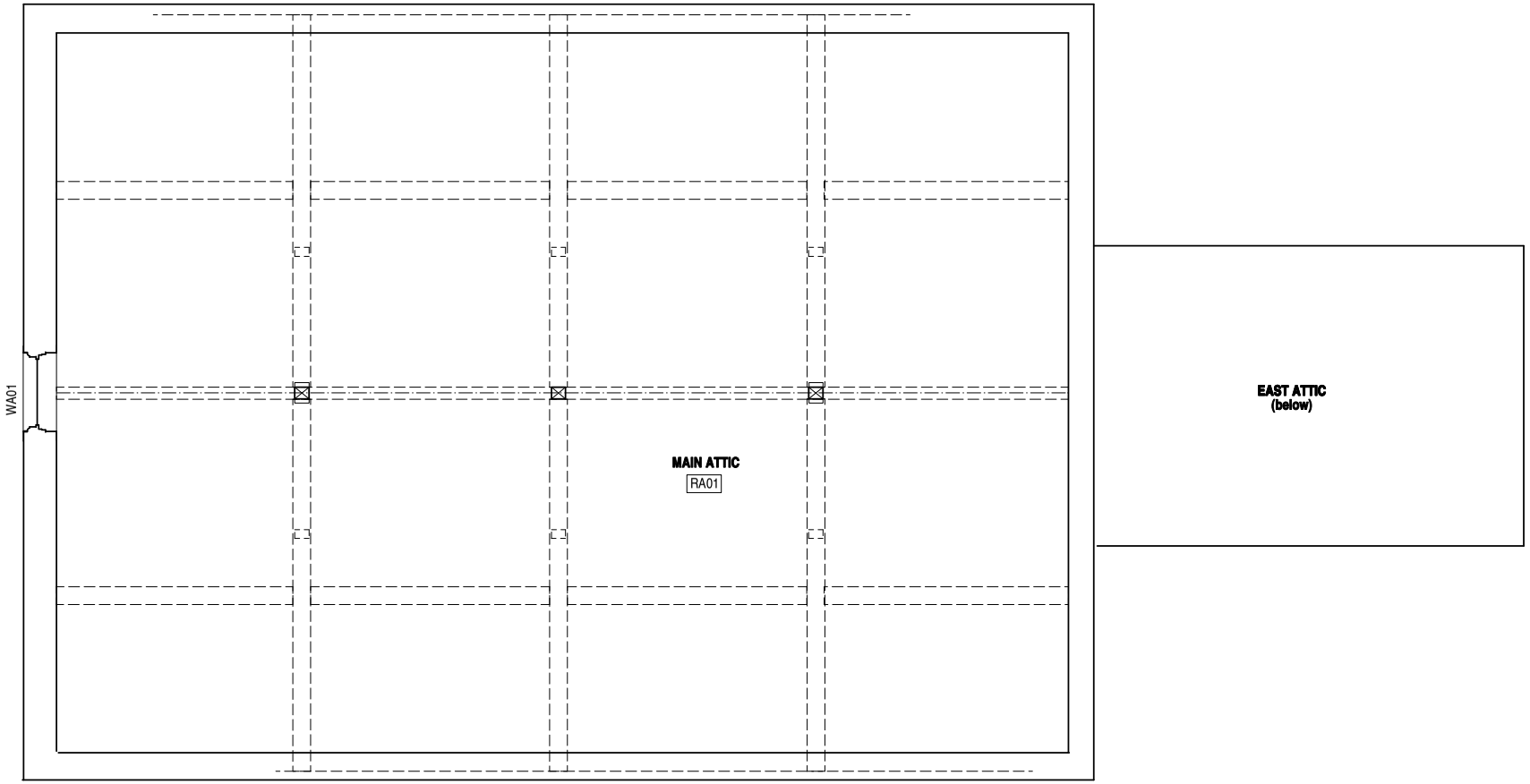


1 / EX-2 **SECOND FLOOR PLAN**
1/8" = 1'-0"

0 2 4 FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013



NORTH

1
EX-3

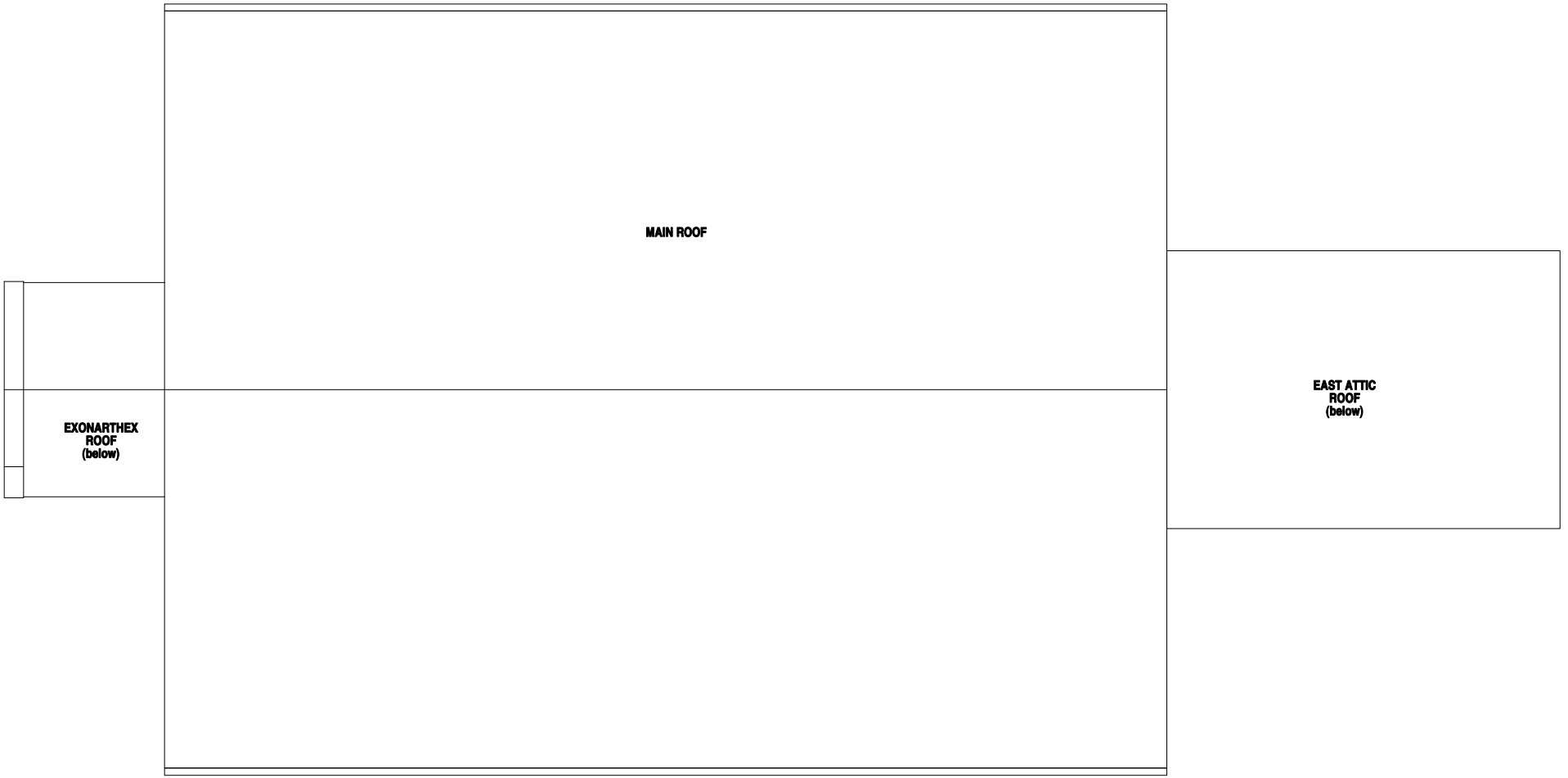
ATTIC FLOOR PLAN

1/8" = 1'-0"

0 2 4FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013



NORTH

1
EX-4

ROOF PLAN

1/8" = 1'-0"

0 2 4FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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1 EX-5 **WEST ELEVATION**
1/8" = 1'-0"
0 2 4FT

2 EX-5 **EAST ELEVATION**
1/8" = 1'-0"
0 2 4FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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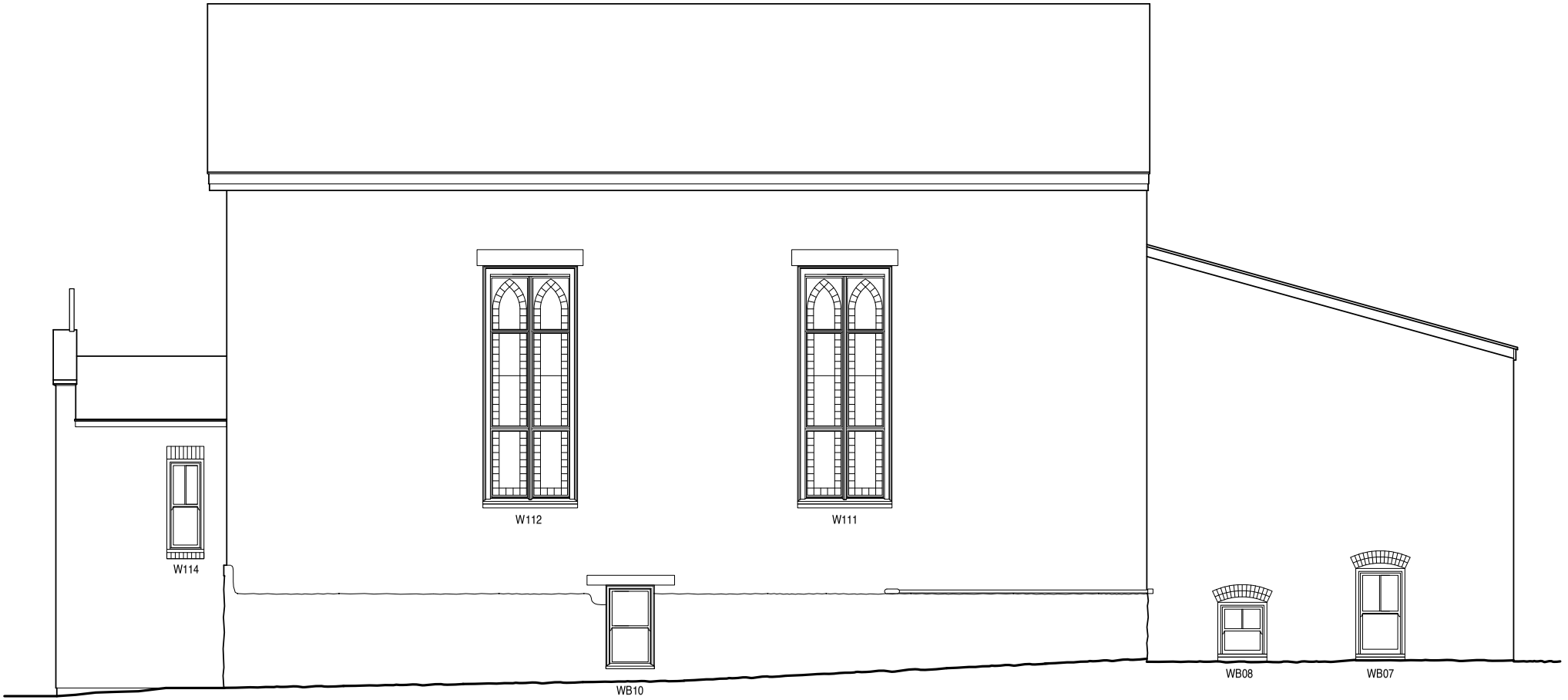
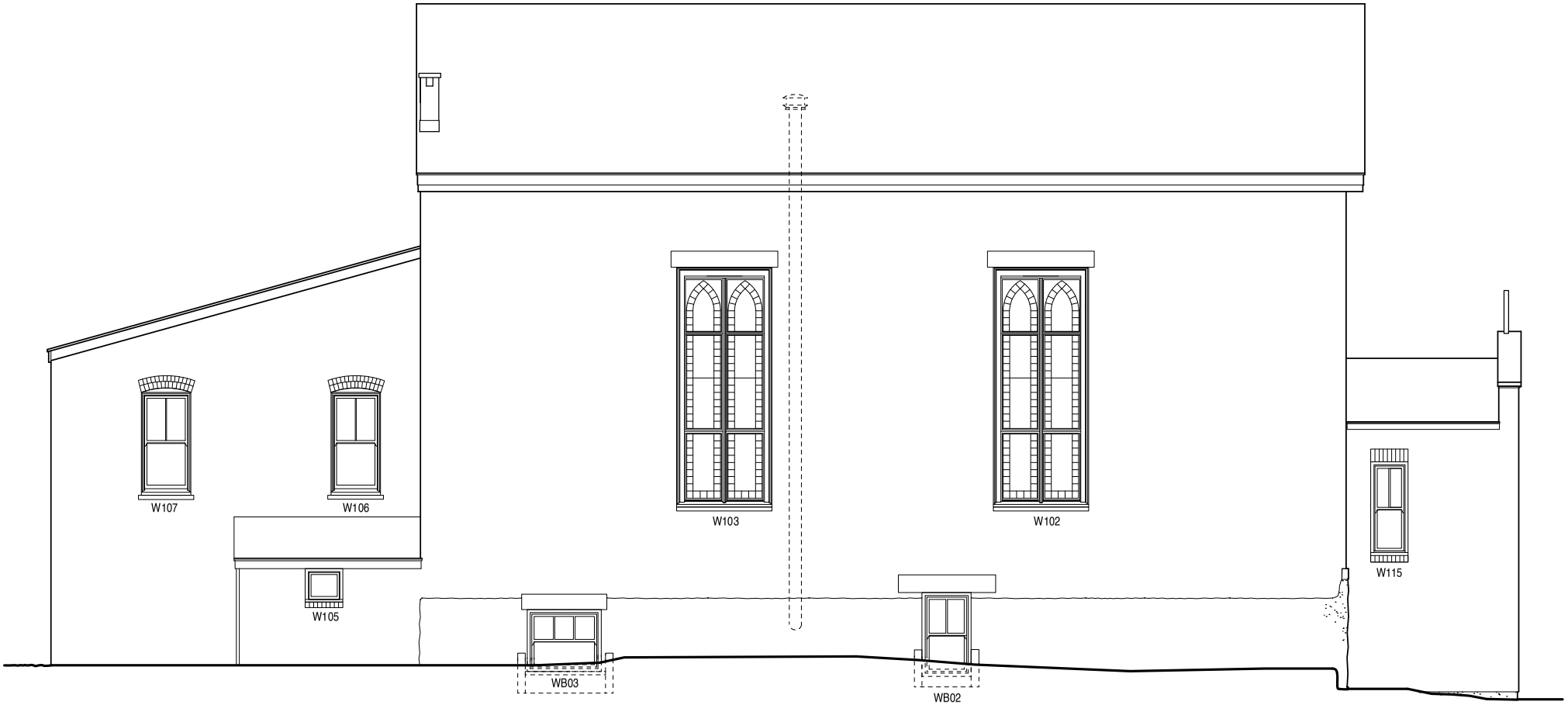


1 EX-6 **SOUTH ELEVATION**
1/8" = 1'-0"
0 2 4FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013



1 / EX-7 **NORTH ELEVATION**
1/8 = 1'-0"
0 2 4 FT

EXISTING CONDITION DOCUMENTATION DRAWINGS FOR THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH • 511 MICHIGAN AVENUE • BUFFALO, NEW YORK

CRAWFORD & STEARNS • ARCHITECTS AND PRESERVATION PLANNERS • SYRACUSE, NEW YORK • JUNE 8, 2013

APPENDIX C: NATIONAL REGISTER NOMINATION

The following text was prepared by Cornelia E. Brooks, as staff within the NYS Division for Historic Preservation, in October 1973 with material submitted by the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society. The property, then known as the Macedonia Baptist Church, was listed on the National Register on February 12, 1974. The full nomination form follows.

> "Conspicuously well-tended and maintained, the Michigan Street Baptist Church stands on the east side of Michigan Avenue in a decaying area of Buffalo, long-proposed to be cleared.
>
> The church is brick painted red. It is rectangular in lay-out set on a high foundation with a square apse projecting at the east end, and at the west end an enclosed entrance has been added in the last twenty-five years. This entrance replaced an earlier arrangement with a double flight of stairs leading up to an arched doorway which opened directly on the upper or principal level. The new entranceway, also arched, opens onto a flight of interior steps which lead upstairs to the sanctuary.
>
> The building is two bays long on the north and south sides. The tall windows have stone sills and some are filled with stained glass with aluminum framing. The two front (west) windows have arched tops, and they are slightly inset in large rectangular panels trimmed at the top with a dentilled row of bricks, the only decorative note on the very simple, stark facade.
>
> Centered between the two front windows over the added entrance bay is a stone plaque inscribed "Michigan Street Baptist Church – 1845". Above the plaque is a small circular window. The low-pitched roof has no cornice. There are two chimneys; one at the west end and one between the two windows on the north side.
>
> On the interior the church is essentially one large space with an altar raised on a platform in front of the semi-circular apse which is encircled by six free-standing columns. The cream-color painted walls and the randomly ordered panes of pale stained glass give a prevailing warmth and lightness to the church interior, sobered only by the rows of darker painted pews which are original to the building. A choir balcony extends across the west end of the room and is reached by stairs in the front entrance. The electric lights have been installed at various times in the twentieth century.
>
> Earlier photographs show a building almost flush with the north wall of the church. This house and the next one (#521, lived in my Mary B. Talbert) have been demolished and the lot is used for church parking.
>
> An activist institution since its inception during the Abolition Movement of the 1830's and 1840's, the Michigan Street Baptist Church has played a central role in Buffalo's Black community for 125 years.
>
> In the second quarter of the nineteenth century Buffalo's free Black residents began to form a closely knit society concentrated in the Michigan-William Street area on the eastern fringe of the downtown commercial district. Hardly a recognized ethnic element at this time, the Negro population of the entire city numbered around 350 when the Michigan Street Baptist Church was built in 1845. Some Blacks who were domestic servants lived scattered throughout the city, but the majority listed in the 1840 census lived within two wards east of the central business district. A sociological study made by Niles Carpenter in 1927 shows that Buffalo's relatively small and cohesive Negro population continued to live and expand in the same area of the city at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. At this time, Carpenter found that Blacks only numbered less than 1% of the total population of Buffalo unlike similar northern industrial cities such as Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago where they were over 4% of the population. The key role of "the church" as not only a spiritual but a social institution among Blacks in Buffalo is underscored in the Carpenter study. The interviewers found that "going to Church and 'visiting with friends'" was the standard reply to questions about family recreation, and the study concluded that:
>
> The Negro in Buffalo still lives his social life largely within his own group and his chief interests lie mainly in the home and church. Through these mediums his best social interests and group unity will be furthered.

By the time of the Carpenter study, Buffalo had 15 Black churches but the most prominent, influential and enduring one was the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Here a Baptist congregation was formed around 1837 during a significant period of Baptist church history, when it was laying the network for a popularly based Abolition Movement. Between 1834 and 1835 three western New York Baptist associations (the Genesee Congregation Consociation, the Genesee Baptist Association in Batavia and the Holland Purchase Baptist Association in Buffalo) made unprecedented recorded resolutions labeling slavery as a sin thereby breaking new ground in committing the Church to the Abolition Crusade.

And abolitionist undertone is evident in the newspaper article of February 28, 1846 announcing the opening of the newly constructed Michigan Street Baptist Church to which "all friendly to the cause are particularly requested to attend."

Claims that the church was the final stop for fugitive slaves en route to Canada during the Civil War are possible and yet undocumented, however the church remained a great center of Negro activity throughout the period and was sustained by the doubling of the Black population in Buffalo between 1840 and 1870. On the day of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 granting Negroes the right to vote, a celebration procession is said to have gathered at the steps of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and marched through the city street winding up with a festive dinner at St. James Hall.

At the turn of the century two compelling community figures became associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church and contributed greatly to the politicization of Buffalo's Blacks. The first was the Rev. Dr. J. Edward Nash (1868-1957) who became pastor of the church in the 1890's and remained there for 61 years during which time he was instrumental in founding the Buffalo Urban League and the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. In 1953 Potter Street behind the church was renamed Nash Street in his honor, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews presented him its annual Brotherhood Award in the field of human relations. During the span of Nash's leadership, Buffalo's Black population mushroomed from 1,805 in 1900 to 74,813 in 1960, and the Michigan-William Street enclave expanded displacing the German and Jewish sections of the city to the north and east.

The second prominent figure associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church was Mary B. Talbert, a neighbor and an active parishioner. Her house was at 521 Michigan Avenue, two doors away from the church (now demolished and part of its parking lot), and here on July 1905 the Buffalo newspapers reported:

> "Colored men from eighteen different states held a national conference at No. 521 Michigan Street yesterday, adopting resolutions looking forward to the betterment of the race and the abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color. It is called the "Niagara Movement." Prof. W. E. DuBois of Atlanta, Georgia, author of The Souls of Black Men, prepared the principles of the Movement.

The delegates apparently met in several places in the course of the week including the Buffalo home of Mrs. Anna Lee and the Fort Erie Beach Hotel across the river in Fort Erie, Canada which W.E. B. DuBois refers to in his autobiography. Although no documented link has been found between Rev. Nash of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and W.E.B. DuBois, Nash' subsequent career bore out DuBois' spirit and initiative with his involvement in the Buffalo N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League.

Thus in the heart of Buffalo's Black enclave the highpoints and setbacks of the past century's Civil Rights movement have been harbored within the simple brick exterior of the Michigan Street Baptist Church from which the most respected community leadership has emanated." - END

NPS/DHP
FEB 25 1974
Received NR Branch

OFFICE COPY

ENTRIES IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

STATE NEW YORK

Date Entered [illegible]

Name	Location
Fairchild Mansion	Oneonta Otsego County
✓ Macedonia Baptist Church	Buffalo Erie County

[illegible]

Also Notified

Hon. Jacob K. Javits
Hon. James L. Buckley
Hon. James M. Hanley
Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski

NEW YORK STATE PARKS & RECREATION South Swan Street Bldg. South Mall, Albany, New York 12223 Information 518 474 0456
Alexander Aldrich, Commissioner

November 9, 1973

Dr. William Murtagh
Keeper of the National Register
National Park Service
Washington, D.C. 20240

Dear Dr. Murtagh:

As the State Historic Preservation Officer, I am forwarding the enclosed nomination to the National Register of Historic Places:

Macedonia Baptist Church, Buffalo, New York, Erie County

The above nomination has been reviewed and approved by the Committee on the Registers in accordance with the criteria outlined in Section 2.2 of the Grants Guide.

The staff of the New York State Division for Historic Preservation, the officially designated Preservation Agency, would welcome the opportunity to discuss this submission with your office.

Sincerely,

Alexander Aldrich

ALEXANDER ALDRICH
State Historic Preservation
Officer

Form 10-300 (Rev. 6-72)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY – NOMINATION FORM

(Type all entries – complete applicable sections)

STATE: New York
COUNTY: Erie
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY DATE

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

1. NAME

COMMON: Macedonia Baptist Church
AND/OR HISTORIC: Michigan Street Baptist Church

2. LOCATION

STREET AND NUMBER: 511 Michigan Avenue
CITY OR TOWN: Buffalo
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT: 37 Rep.: Thaddeus J. Dulski
STATE: New York — CODE: 36
COUNTY: Erie — CODE: 029

3. CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY (Check One)	OWNERSHIP		STATUS	ACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC
☐ District ☒ Building	☐ Public	Public Acquisition:	☒ Occupied	Yes:
☐ Site ☐ Structure	☒ Private	☐ In Process	☐ Unoccupied	☒ Restricted
☐ Object	☐ Both	☐ Being Considered	☐ Preservation work in progress	☐ Unrestricted
				☐ No

PRESENT USE (Check One or More as Appropriate)

☐ Agricultural	☐ Government	☐ Park	☐ Transportation	☐ Comments
☐ Commercial	☐ Industrial	☐ Private Residence	☐ Other (Specify)	
☐ Educational	☐ Military	☒ Religious		
☐ Entertainment	☐ Museum	☐ Scientific		

4. OWNER OF PROPERTY

OWNER'S NAME: Macedonia Baptist Church
STREET AND NUMBER: 511 Michigan Avenue
CITY OR TOWN: Buffalo
STATE: New York — CODE: 36

5. LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE, REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC: Erie County Courthouse
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN: Buffalo
STATE: New York — CODE: 36

6. REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE OF SURVEY:
DATE OF SURVEY: ☐ Federal ☐ State ☐ County ☐ Local
DEPOSITORY FOR SURVEY RECORDS:
STREET AND NUMBER:
CITY OR TOWN:
STATE: — CODE:

STATE: New York
COUNTY: Erie
FOR NPS USE ONLY
ENTRY NUMBER
DATE

7. DESCRIPTION

CONDITION	(Check One)					
	☐ Excellent	☒ Good	☐ Fair	☐ Deteriorated	☐ Ruins	☐ Unexposed
	(Check One)		(Check One)			
	☒ Altered	☐ Unaltered	☐ Moved	☒ Original Site		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL *(if known)* PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

Conspicuously well-tended and maintained, the Michigan Street Baptist Church stands on the east side of Michigan Avenue in a decaying area of Buffalo, long-proposed to be cleared.

The church is brick painted red. It is rectangular in layout set on a high foundation with a square apse projecting at the east end, and at the west end an enclosed entrance has been added in the last twenty-five years. This entrance replaced an earlier arrangement with a double flight of stairs leading up to an arched doorway which opened directly on the upper or principal level. The new entranceway, also arched, opens onto a flight of interior steps which lead upstairs to the sanctuary.

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Earlier photographs show a building almost flush with the north wall of the church. This house and the next one (#521, lived in by Mary B. Talbert) have been demolished and the lot is used for church parking.

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

8. SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

☐ Pre-Columbian	☐ 16th Century	☐ 18th Century	☒ 20th Century
☐ 15th Century	☐ 17th Century	☒ 19th Century	

SPECIFIC DATE(S) *(If Applicable and Known)* 1845

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE *(Check One or More as Appropriate)*

Aboriginal	☐ Education	☒ Political	☐ Urban Planning
☐ Prehistoric	☐ Engineering	☒ Religion/Philosophy	☐ Other *(Specify)*
☐ Historic	☐ Industry	☐ Science	Black history
☐ Agriculture	☐ Invention	☐ Sculpture	
☐ Architecture	☐ Landscape Architecture	☒ Social/Humanitarian	
☐ Art	☐ Literature	☐ Theater	
☐ Commerce	☐ Military	☐ Transportation	
☐ Communications	☐ Music		
☐ Conservation			

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

(3) An activist institution since its inception during the Abolition Movement of the 1830's and 1840's, the Michigan Street Baptist Church has played a central role in Buffalo's Black community for 125 years.

(4) In the second quarter of the nineteenth century Buffalo's free Black residents began to form a closely knit society concentrated in the Michigan-William Street area on the eastern fringe of the downtown commercial district./ Hardly a recognized ethnic element at this time, the Negro population of the entire city numbered around 350 when the Michigan Street Baptist Church was built in 1845.[1] Some Blacks who were domestic servants lived scattered throughout the city, but the majority listed in the 1840 census lived within two wards east of the central business district. A sociological study made by Niles Carpenter in 1927 shows that Buffalo's relatively small and cohesive Negro population continued to live and expand in the same area of the city at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. At this time, Carpenter found that Blacks only numbered less than 1% of the total population of Buffalo unlike similar northern industrial cities such as Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago where they were over 4% of the population.[2] The key role of"the church" as not only a spiritual but a social institution among Blacks in Buffalo is underscored in the Carpenter study. The interviewers found that "going to Church and 'visiting with friends'" was the standard reply to questions about family recreation,[3] and the study concluded that:

> The Negro in Buffalo still lives his social life largely within his own group and his chief interests lie mainly in the home and church. Through these mediums his best social interests and group unity will be furthered.[4]

By the time of the Carpenter study, Buffalo had 15 Black churches but the most prominent, influential and enduring one was the Michigan Street Baptist Church.[5] (3) Here a Baptist congregation was formed around 1837 during a significant period of

See continuation sheet

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
New York	
COUNTY	
Erie	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

8. Significance 2 (Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Baptist church history, when it was laying the network for a ~~popularly based~~ Abolition Movement. Between 1834 and 1835 three western New York Baptist associations (the Genesee Congregation Consociation, the Genesee Baptist Association in Batavia and the Holland Purchase Baptist Association in Buffalo) made unprecedented recorded resolutions labelling slavery as a sin thereby breaking new ground in committing the Church to the Abolition Crusade.[6]

An abolitionist undertone is evident in the newspaper article of February 28, 1846 announcing the opening of the newly constructed Michigan Street Baptist Church to which "all friendly to the cause are particularly requested to attend."[7]

Claims that the church was the final stop for fugitive slaves en route to Canada during the Civil War are possible and yet undocumented, however the church remained a great center of Negro activity throughout the period and was sustained by the doubling of the Black population in Buffalo between 1840 and 1870. On the day of the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1870 granting Negroes the right to vote, a celebration procession is said to have gathered at the steps of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and marched through the city street winding up with a festive dinner at St. James Hall.

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The second prominent figure associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church was Mary B. Talbert, a neighbor and an active parishioner. Her house was at 521 Michigan Avenue, two doors away from the church (now demolished and part of its parking lot), and here on July 1905 the Buffalo newspapers[8] reported

> "Colored men from eighteen different states held a national conference at No. 521 Michigan Street yesterday, adopting resolutions looking

See continuation sheet

GPO 921-724

Form 10-300a (July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

(Continuation Sheet)

STATE	
New York	
COUNTY	
Erie	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

8. Significance 3
(Number all entries)

forward to the betterment of the race and the abolition of all caste distinctions based simply on race and color. It is called the "Niagara Movement." Prof. W. E. DuBois of Atlanta, Georgia, author of The Souls of Black Men, prepared the principles of the Movement.[9]

The delegates apparently met in several places in the course of the week including the Buffalo home of Mrs. Anna Lee and the Fort Erie Beach Hotel across the river in Fort Erie, Canada which W.E.B. DuBois refers to in his autobiography.[10] Although no documented link has been found between Rev. Nash of the Michigan Street Baptist Church and W.E.B. DuBois, Nash's subsequent career bore out DuBois' spirit and initiative with his involvement in the Buffalo N.A.A.C.P. and Urban League.

Thus in the heart of Buffalo's Black enclave the highpoints and setbacks of the past century's Civil Rights movement have been harbored within the simple brick exterior of the Michigan Street Baptist Church from which the most respected community leadership has emanated.

---

[1]Approximate figure based on 1840 census rolls.

[2]Niles Carpenter "Nationality, Color & Economic Opportunity in the City of Buffalo", University of Buffalo, 1927.

[3]Carpenter, p. 178.

[4]Carpenter, p. 179.

[5]Of all the Buffalo Churches listed in the 1905 City Directory the Michigan Street Baptist Church is the only one specified as "colored".

[6]Whitney Cross, The Burned Over District. Cornell University Press: 1950, p. 219.

[7]Buffalo Morning Express, February 28, 1846.

[8]The Buffalo Commercial, July 12, 1905.
The Buffalo Enquirer, July 12, 1905.

[9]The Buffalo Enquirer, July 12, 1905.

See continuation sheet

GPO 921-724

Form 10-300a
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
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INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
New York	
COUNTY	
Erie	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

8. Significance 4 *(Continuation Sheet)*

(Number all entries)

10W.E.B. DuBois Autobiography, International Publisher, 1968, p. 248.

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

See continuation sheet

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING A RECTANGLE LOCATING THE PROPERTY

CORNER	LATITUDE Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	LONGITUDE Degrees	Minutes	Seconds
NW	°	'	"	°	'	"
NE	°	'	"	°	'	"
SE	°	'	"	°	'	"
SW	°	'	"	°	'	"

OR

LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE COORDINATES DEFINING THE CENTER POINT OF A PROPERTY OF LESS THAN TEN ACRES

LATITUDE Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	LONGITUDE Degrees	Minutes	Seconds
42°	53'	10"	78°	52'	03"

APPROXIMATE ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY: one acre

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE:	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE
STATE:	CODE	COUNTY:	CODE

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME AND TITLE:
Cornelia E. Brooke, Research Assistant with material submitted by

ORGANIZATION: the Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society
New York State Division for Historic Preservation

DATE: October 1973

STREET AND NUMBER:
South Swan Street Building

CITY OR TOWN: Albany

STATE: New York

CODE: 36

12. STATE LIAISON OFFICER CERTIFICATION

As the designated State Liaison Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service. The recommended level of significance of this nomination is:

National ☐ State ☐ Local ☒

Name Alexander Aldrich

Title State Historic Preservation Officer

Date November 9, 1973

NATIONAL REGISTER VERIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is included in the National Register.

Director, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation

Date

ATTEST:

Keeper of The National Register

Date

GPO 931-894

SEE INSTRUCTIONS

Form 10-300a
(July 1969)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
INVENTORY - NOMINATION FORM

STATE	
New York	
COUNTY	
Erie	
FOR NPS USE ONLY	
ENTRY NUMBER	DATE

9. Major Bibliographical References (Continuation Sheet)

(Number all entries)

Buffalo City Census 1840--New York State Library microfilm.
Buffalo City Directory 1905-1906.
Buffalo Commercial, July 12, 1906.
Buffalo Enquirer, July 12, 1906.
Buffalo Morning Express, February 28, 1845

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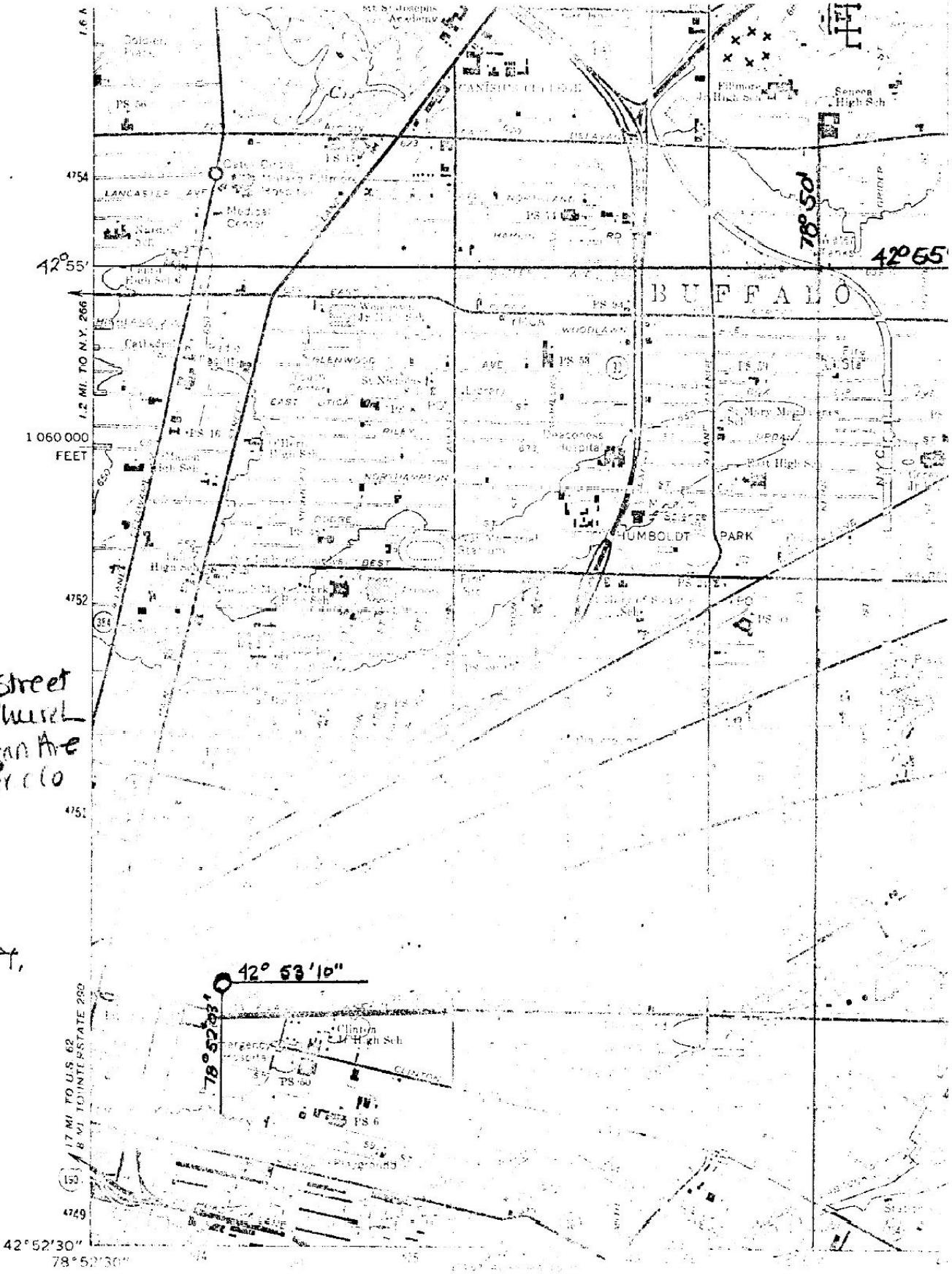
DuBois, W.E.B., The Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois A Solioquy on Viewing my Life from the Last Decade or its First Century. International Publishers: 1968.

Dunn, Walter, Jr. Ed. History of Erie County, Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society: 1971.

Gredel, Stephen "Pioneers of Buffalo: Its Growth and Development" Commission on Human Relations: 1966.

The Files of the New York State Board for Historic Preservation.

GPO 921-724



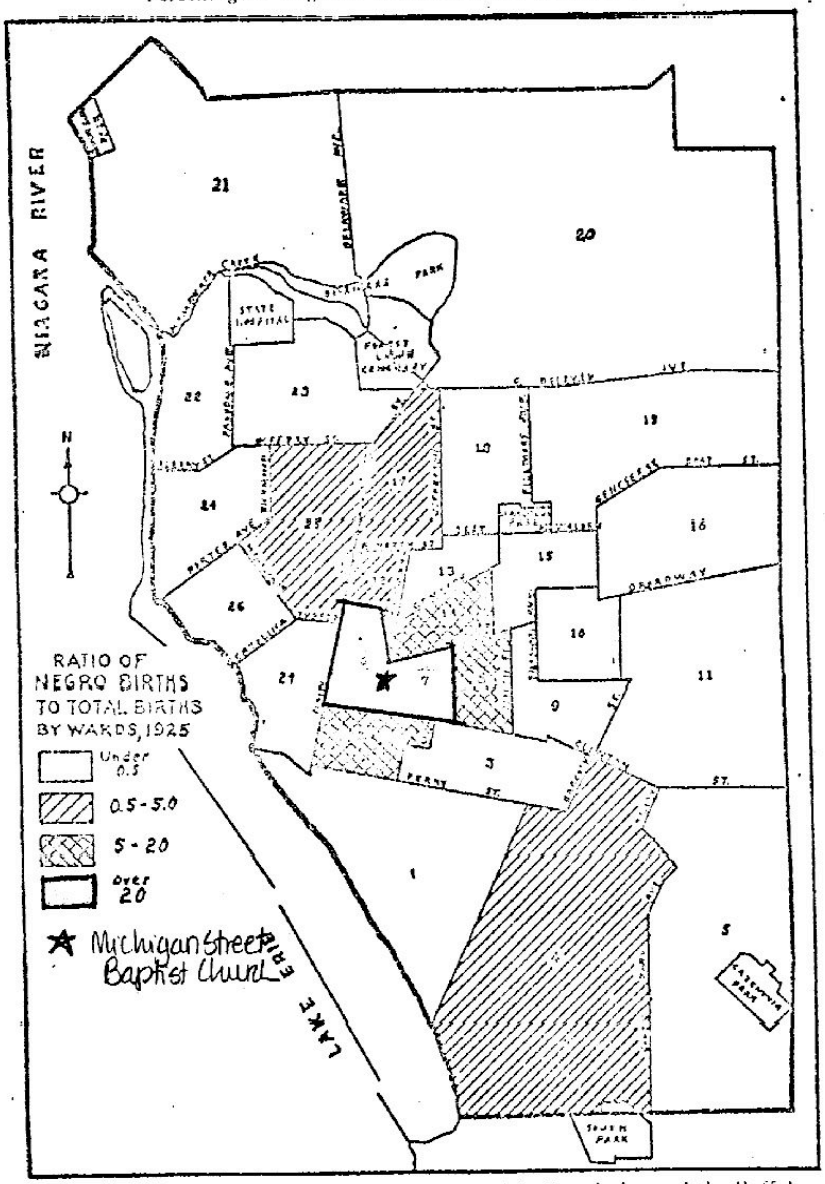
Michigan Street
Baptist Church
511 Michigan Ave
Buffalo, NY 14203

~~Street~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~eto, N.Y.~~

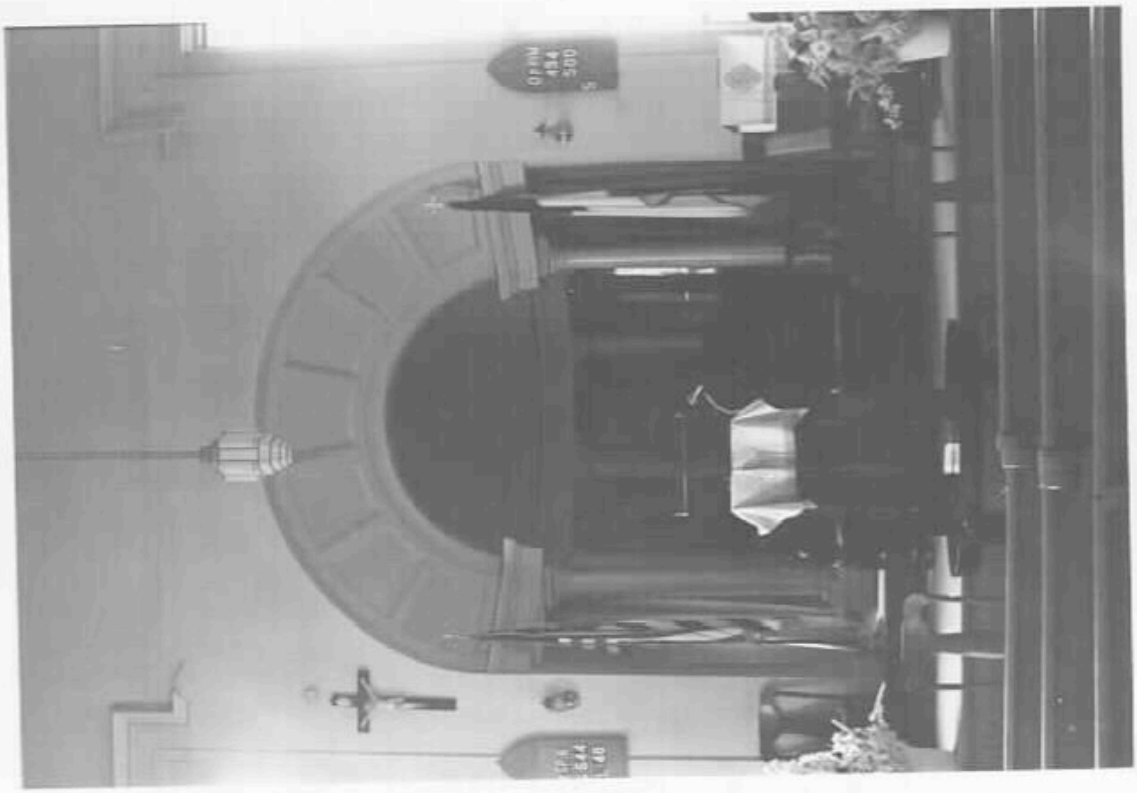
(BUFFALO SE)
5269 IV SE

MAP 2

Percentage of Negro to White Births, by Wards, 1925



The data for this Map were furnished by the Buffalo Foundation and the Buffalo Department of Health.



APPENDIX D: "ORIGINS OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH"

The following report titled *Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church* by Monroe Fordham was first published in 1996 in Afro-Americans in New York Life and History.

Afro-Americans in New York Life and History

Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church Buffalo, New York

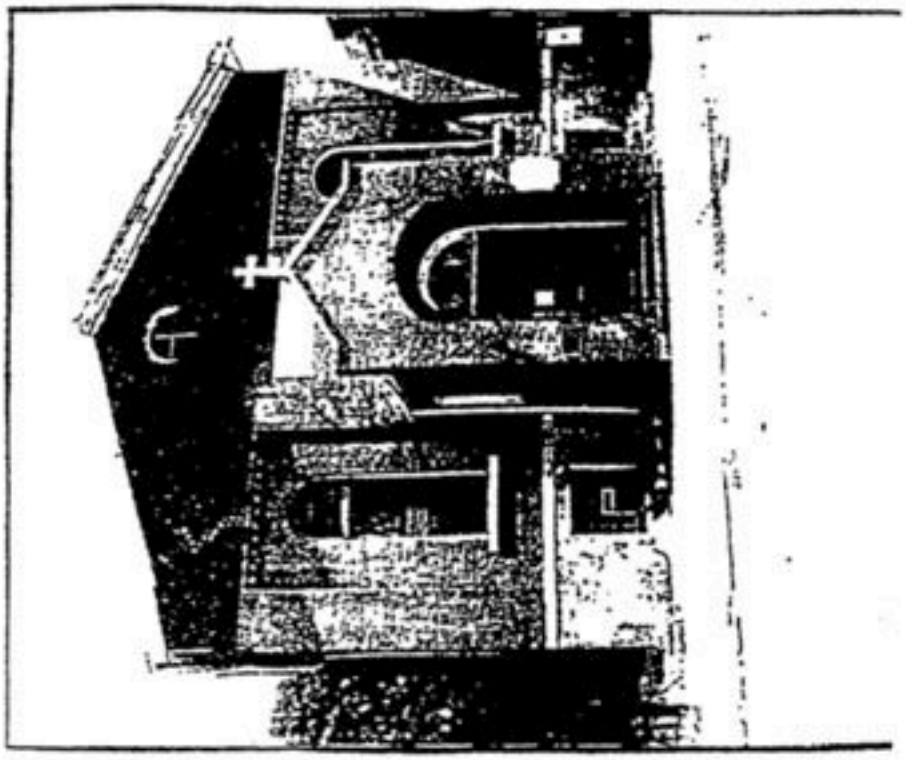
Monroe Fordham[1]

The 1828 *Directory for the Village of Buffalo* listed 59 "Names of Coloured" heads of families. In 1832, when the City of Buffalo was incorporated, the city directory listed the names of 68 colored heads of families.[2] The pre-Civil War African American population of Buffalo was centered in the fourth ward--east of Main Street, north of South Division Street, and south of North Street.[3] Michigan Street ran through the heart of the residential area where African Americans lived. Although most of the City's African American population lived in the fourth ward, that area was not an all-black area. In fact, the vast majority of the residents of the fourth ward were white.

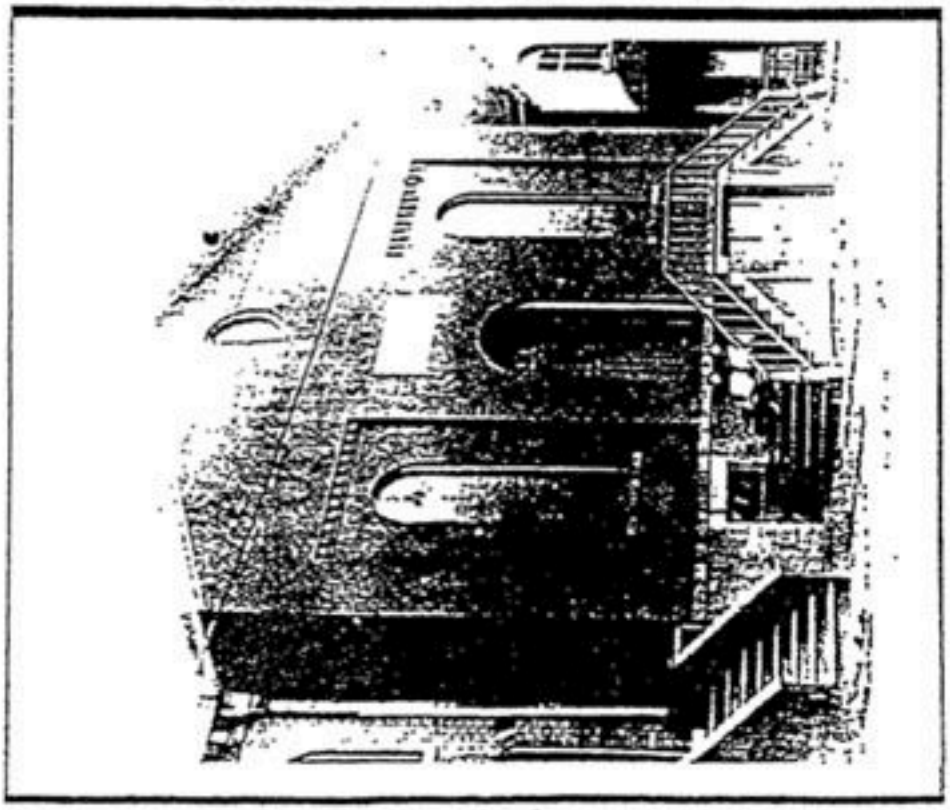
> In the second quarter of the nineteenth century Buffalo's free Black residents began to form a closely knit society concentrated in the Michigan-William Street area on the eastern fringe of the downtown commercial district. Hardly a recognized ethnic element at this time, the Negro population of the entire city numbered around 350 when the Michigan Street Baptist Church was built in 1845. Some Blacks who were domestic servants lived scattered throughout the city, but the majority listed in the 1840 census lived within two wards east of the central business district. A sociological study made by Niles Carpenter in 1927 shows that Buffalo's relatively small and cohesive Negro population continued to live and expand in the same area of the city at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century.[4]

Early records of the region indicate that African Americans were present in the Buffalo area by the 1790s.[5] Buffalo's location was a factor in attracting African Americans. Located in the far western, and at that time a fairly remote, part of the state, Buffalo was also just across the border from Canada.

Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church



Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1858
(photo by George K. Arthur)



Michigan Street Baptist Church, circa 1890s
(photo from Buffalo Erie County Historical Society)

Michigan Street Preservation Corporation
511 Michigan Avenue
Buffalo, New York 14203

Those factors made the region very attractive to fugitive slaves as well as free people of color who wanted a quick escape route from bounty hunters. African Americans helped to rebuild the city after it was destroyed by the British in the War of 1812. Blacks were present when the village was incorporated in 1822.

The city directory of 1838 noted the existence of a "colored Baptist and [a] colored Methodist society." That was the first time a Buffalo city directory noted the presence of an African American religious body. However, other primary sources note the existence of organized black religious activity in Buffalo by the early 1830s.[6] In all probability, some level of informal organized and independent religious activity was present even earlier, especially in light of the fact that Buffalo had a documented sizable African American community back as early as the 1820s. In addition, some blacks worshiped in white churches. Religion was very important to northern free black communities and by the late 1790s, northern free blacks had begun to establish their own churches and other community agencies.[7] While passing through western New York in 1837, Charles B. Ray, a traveling agent for the *Colored American* weekly newspaper filed a written report describing Buffalo's African American community.

> The Colored community of Buffalo are, in many respects, above any community of our people I have visited during my western tour.... They have among them two religious societies, one benevolent, and three literary [societies]. The males spend their winter evenings in debating moral and political questions. Their school is for the present discontinued for want of a teacher. Their children are in attendance at the white private schools.[8]

The congregation that became known as the Michigan Street Baptist church was formally organized between 1832 and 1837. A historical sketch of the church written around 1908 by the Rev. Dr. J. Edward Nash, the church's pastor, states that "During the ministry of Elisha Tucker, Pastor of the Washington Street Baptist Church, a council was called to organize a colored Baptist Church, to be constituted of members from the Washington Street Church."[9] (The Buffalo city directory for 1836 lists "Tucker, Elisha, pastor of baptist ch."). The Washington Street Baptist Church was the first Baptist church to be established in Buffalo. It was apparently a white congregation that allowed blacks to worship in the facility. Rev. Nash's

historical sketch further stated that,

> During the fall of the year 1836, thirteen men and women withdrew from the parent church, and formed the Second Baptist Church of Buffalo. It is interesting to note that the first child sent out from the Mother Washington Church, was the Michigan Street Church. This faithful band commenced their worship in a small wooden building, over an Undertaker's Establishment at the corner of Niagara and Eagle Streets. A colored gentleman named William Munroe, had been ordained and was chosen as their minister, occupying all the positions that the name would indicate, Preacher, Pastor, Teacher, Janitor and Friend, his salary was raised by public subscription--after administering to this little flock for two or three years left them,...[10]

The 1839 and 1840 Buffalo city directories listed Rev. William Monroe as the pastor. In the 1840 directory Rev. Monroe is referred to as the pastor of "2d baptist church." In 1841 the weekly newspaper the *Colored American* referred to the Michigan Street Church as "Second Baptist Church." The historical sketch by Rev. Nash reported that "the minutes of the 25th anniversary of the [Buffalo Baptist?] association, held in Springville Sept. 9th and 10th 1840, record for the first time the second Baptist Church with Charles E. Smith as clerk, and a membership of 19".[11] By 1842 the membership had increased to 49.[12] In the 1848-49 city directory, the church is listed as "Michigan Street Second Baptist Church-colored." The following year, the words "Second Baptist" were dropped from the title. Prior to moving into the brick structure at 511 Michigan Street, the church occupied a "meeting room" on "Niagara Street, near Pearl."[13]

During the 1840s and 1850s, the Michigan Street congregation was served by numerous pastors including the Revs. William Monroe, A. Brown, Stephen Dutton, John Sharp, David Miller, Samuel H. Davis, D.W. Anderson, and J.S. Martin. Several of the church's early ministers were white. The white ministers included, "Mr. Verrinder, white, but not regular ordained," and "Rev. Mr. Jeffrey, a white ordained minister."[14] Officers included James L. Thomas, Carr Johnson, Nathan Steward, Peyton Harris, William Qualls, Henry K. Thomas, Henry Fields, John Dandridge, and Benjamin Young.[15]

Rev. Nash's historical sketch has a rather detailed account of the background to the construction of the church building at

511 Michigan Street. The campaign to build a new church began in earnest in 1842.

> The Rev. Mr. Sharpe, seeing the needs of worshipping in a better building, commenced to solicit funds to build a suitable house of worship, where this little flock might serve GOD according to the dictates of their conscience. In looking about for a site, Deacon Wm. Qualls and Peyton Harris, reported to the church a very fine piece of land on Michigan Street near Batavia, and after being duly delegated to purchase what site they thought best, they bought the land where the Church is now situated, Batavia Street being changed to Broadway. Re. Sharpe went to England in search of aid, but was not successful and returned home. It was at this point that the women of the Church came to the front and united themselves into a Ladies Aid Society-object to aid the brethren in the building of a church....[16]

One of the Ladies' fundraising projects was to sell needlework to the public.[17] The fundraising continued and by 1844 the church had a membership of 56.[18] In that year, "Mr. Peyton Harris succeeded in obtaining all of the lumber, brick and stone for the erection of the building and the Pastor, Rev. Davis, a mason by traded did the mason's work."[19] The church cornerstone was laid in 1845 and the congregation held the first services in the new structure in 1846.

> That was a memorable day, the first sabbath in June 1845, when the Colored Baptist Church laid their corner stone. Such enthusiasm, such rejoicing, and with them rejoiced other ministers and Rev. Levi Tucker of the Washington St. Church and the members of his congregation, and all the ministers of the [Buffalo Baptist?] association joined in the laying of the corner stone. Work progressed rapidly on the building and the following spring they were able to worship in the basement. Mr. Sharp at this point left and the Re. Mr. Jeffries, a colored preacher from Geneva took up the work; however his stay as a pastor was very short and in less than six months he departed for other fields, the membership being 66. Samuel Davis and Mr. Miller were the next minister[s], both of whom were ordained in the basement of the church. In 1848 the membership increased to 81 and the sabbath school was organized.[20]

By 1849 the church "announced that they had completed and dedicated their House of Worship. The building being

worth $3500.00, and the land $2000.00."[21] By 1851 church membership reached its highest point up to that date--93. "During all of this time the members were wondering how they would be able to raise enough money to finish their main auditorium and after much prayer and consultation, the members decided to pay $10.00 annually for the rent of a pew."[22]

Over the years the Michigan Street Baptist Church has been a central part of the history and culture of Buffalo's African American community. Even in the early decades of its existence as an independent institution, the theology of the African American church was not dramatically different from that of white Protestant churches of the ante-bellum period. However, drawing from the mainstream Protestant revival doctrines, the independent black church articulated themes that addressed the unique needs and conditions of free people of color who felt a strong kinship to the slave community.[23]

The African American church emphasized a theology of hope and optimism at a time when northern blacks were a small minority in an often hostile environment. The 19th century black population of Buffalo never reached more than 1.5% of the total Buffalo population.[24] Moreover, a large portion of the pre-Civil War Buffalo black community was made up of transplanted southern blacks who had seen slavery first hand. Their religion and their church was often the strongest sustaining force in their lives as they tried to cope with slavery and "racial caste." The church continued to meet important social, cultural, and spiritual needs even after slavery was abolished.

The pre-Civil War black church was the institution that was under the total control of blacks themselves. It was the institution that enabled African Americans to harness the energy and resources of the black community and to transform their ideas and aspirations into functional programs and activities. Like most Protestant religious institutions that advocated revival and reform doctrines, the African American church was active in the campaign against slavery. In addition, the African American church voiced strong opposition to racial prejudice and discrimination.

In 1838 a group of Buffalo's most influential colored men, which included at least four officers from the Michigan Street Baptist Church, published a statement protesting the "opprobrious epithets continually poured out against the colored citizens, and the contemptuous manner in which we are

treated." The statement asked rhetorically, "are we deserving of such treatment?" Their answer was obvious -- "Surely not." The statement went on to outline how black Buffalonians had been loyal to their community and country. Black Buffalonians were said to be ready to "protect the city against any aggressors." (They were probably referring to fears of aggression from Canada).[25]

In the pre-Civil War period the church was a meeting place for a wide range of community social and cultural activities, and abolitionist and reform meetings. One such meeting took place in Buffalo in 1841. On March 28, 1841, "the colored citizens of the City of Buffalo met..., for the purpose of expressing their gratitude for the liberation of the *Amistad* captives." (The *Amistad* was a Spanish slave ship carrying African slaves to America. The slaves mutinied and took control of the ship. Eventually the ship was capture and the slaves arrested and held for trial. Following the intervention by abolitionists and a celebrated court case, the Africans were freed.) At the aforementioned meeting, Buffalo blacks offered several prayers. One prayer was offered by "Rev. A. Brown of the Second Baptist Church." Prayers were also offered by Nathan Steward and J. Dandridge, both officers of the Second Street Baptist Church. Several resolutions were passed, one thanking God for liberating the *Amistad* captives, another thanking federal officials and abolitionists for their roles in the case.[26]

In 1842 the Michigan Street Baptist Church adopted a resolution opposing slavery. "Resolved, that the System of Slavery is alike opposed to the spirit of the Gospel and the Principles of Justice, that we have no fellowship with it, and we recommend to the members of our Churches the use of all suitable means to effect its entire abolition."[27]

Black abolitionists like Frederick Douglass, William Wells Brown, Henry Highland Garnet, Martin Delany and others, made frequent stops in Buffalo to speak at anti-slavery gatherings. In fact, Brown was a resident of Buffalo during the 1830s. Although providing assistance to fugitive slaves was a violation of federal law, it was widely held that the Michigan Street Baptist Church was a station on the "underground railroad." By the late 19th century, such stories had attained legendary status.

Members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church participated as delegates to the National Convention of Colored

Citizens. Those conventions were annual events from 1830-1835. In the 1840s and 1850s the conventions were held only periodically. Delegates from free black communities throughout the North met to consider the plight of African Americans--slave and free, and to plan strategies to promote the uplift of Americans of color.

In 1843 the National Convention of Colored Citizens was held in Buffalo. Samuel H. Davis of Buffalo, who spent several years as pastor of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, was elected Chairman pro tem of that convention. Henry Thomas of Buffalo, an officer in the Michigan Street Baptist Church, was appointed as one of two convention secretaries. Davis gave the opening address. In that address Davis gave a strong condemnation of both southern slavery and northern prejudice and discrimination. After outlining the problems of blacks in the North and South, Davis asked a rhetorical question. What shall we do and who do we turn to for help? In answering his own question, Davis urged his listeners to "rise up and assert our rightful claims, and plead our own cause." He asserted that "We ourselves, must be willing to contend for the rich boon of freedom and equal rights, or we shall never enjoy that boon."

In 1849 the National Colored Convention was held in Troy, New York. Peyton Harris, an officer in the Michigan Street Baptist Church was a delegate. Moreover, the convention elected Harris as one of three vice presidents.[28] Harris was described as "an early Negro resident of Buffalo," and as "one of the church founders." He was said to have been "comparatively wealthy." (In the 1930s, his great granddaughter--Mrs. Sarah May Keelan lived next door to the church).[29]

Even in the pre-Civil War period the Michigan Street Baptist Church was considered the pride of Buffalo's African American community. It had been built especially for an African American congregation. It was not a hand-me-down building. A newspaper clipping from the early 20th century stated that "old church records tell of the pride the congregation had in its first gas lights," which were installed in the mid-1850s.[30]

At the end of the 19th century, there were still only three African American churches in the city of Buffalo. Because of its location and its involvement in the community, the Michigan Street Baptist Church continued to be central to the the life and history of Buffalo's African American community. The Na-

tional Registry nomination form highlights two developments from that period:

> At the turn of the century two compelling community figures became associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church and contributed greatly to the politicization of Buffalo's Blacks. The first was the Rev. Dr. J. Edward Nash (1868-1957) who became pastor of the church in the 1890s and remained there for 61 years during which time he was instrumental in founding the Buffalo Urban League and the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. In 1953 Potter Street behind the church was renamed Nash Street in his honor, and the National Conference of Christians and Jews presented him its annual Brotherhood Award in the field of human relations....
>
> The second prominent figure associated with the Michigan Street Baptist Church was Mary B. Talbert, a neighbor and an active parishioner. [Mrs. Talbert earned a national reputation as a reform activist]. Her house was at 521 Michigan Avenue, two doors from the church (now demolished).[31]

In 1905 W.E.B. DuBois and other prominent African American leaders met at Mrs. Talbert's home (521 Michigan Avenue) and adopted the resolutions that led to the founding of the Niagara Movement.

By the third decade of the 20th century the "Great Migration" and related factors had begun to transform historically small northern African American communities like that of Buffalo. By 1930 the African American population of Buffalo had grown to more than 13,000. A description of the lower part of Michigan Street, which was written in the late 1920s, suggests some of the changes that historical evolution had in store for the Michigan Street community. "Gradually the Negro community grew up here taking possession of homes vacated by a line of owners and renters before them. They are among the oldest buildings in the city, less than four blocks from the business district and flanked on another side by a warehouse and light manufacturing area." The report continued,

> Michigan Avenue, the main thorofare, once a neat and orderly street.... begins properly at the bridge near the Union Station, crosses Seneca Street into a string of pawn shops, light manufacturing, second hand clothing stores and cheap eating places before it reaches the Negroes. Swan street, the extreme southern boundary of the Negro residence area, once stiff and aristocratic, is a street of dilapidated rooming houses. There still stand the solid looking square brick build-

> ings with light individual differentiation but conforming to a type--now weather beaten and old and with the look of long neglect.... Further on Michigan Avenue are auto repair shops, restaurants, clothes cleaning shops, [and] second hand furniture stores.[32]

And of course at 511 Michigan stood the historic Michigan Street Baptist Church.

As the northern black communities increased in size, the number of churches and other agencies serving those communities also increased. In time, other churches and community agencies began to assume some of the functions that the Michigan Street Baptist Church had performed for more than a century. Although the Michigan Street Church has given up center stage in community life, its significance in the 19th and early 20th century history of Buffalo's African American community should be celebrated and memorialized by all future generations. The Michigan Street Baptist Church, at 511 Michigan Street, was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. The Michigan Street Preservation Corporation is working to restore and preserve the site as a community landmark.

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1. Monroe Fordham is a Professor of History at Buffalo State College.

2. The Directories for the city of Buffalo that are cited in this report were housed in the library of the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society.

3. The fourth ward as defined in the 1850 Federal Census.

4. National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, for Michigan Street Baptist Church.

5. Atkins, Barton, *Modern Antiquities: Sketches of Early Buffalo*, pp. 6-7.

6. See John L. Myers, "The Beginning of Anti-Slavery Agencies in New York State, 1833-1836." *New York History*, Vol. 43, April, 1962, p. 160; see also Payne, Daniel A., *History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church,* (New York: Johnson Reprint Co., 1968), pp. 117-120.

7. Woodson, Carter, *The History of the Negro Church.* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers), Chapter IV.

8. The *Colored American*, November 4, 1837, p.2, c.2.

9. According to Rev. Nash's six page typescript, the source of that statement was the records of the Buffalo Baptist Association, formerly the Holland Purchase Association. The statement in quotes was dated March 9, 1836. Rev. Nash's, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, March, 1836-1908," was

loaned to this author by Bishop William Henderson. Hereafter, that paper will we be referred to as Nash, "History."

10. Nash, "History," p. 2.

11. Nash, "History," p. 2.

12. Nash, "History," pp. 2, 3.

13. The Buffalo city directory of 1842 lists the Niagara Street location.

14. Nash, "History," p.2.

15. All except A. Brown were listed in the Buffalo city directories. Brown was named in the *Colored American*, April 17, 1841. Stephen Dutton, William Qualls, and Peyton Harris were also listed in Nash's, "History," as the first delegates to go to a Buffalo Baptist Association meeting. See Nash, "History," p.2 Qualls and Harris were described as the uncle and grandfather respectively of Mr. William Talbert, an early 20th century member of the church and a resident of 521 Michigan Street.

16. Nash, "History," p.3. Rev. Nash's historical sketch is drawn primarily from an interview he conducted in 1904 with an elderly member of the Michigan Street Church. "Sister Emaline Coy" was described as being "79 years old ...in good health, with a vivid and clear recollection of the many interesting incidents connected with her church." Sister Coy joined the Michigan Street Baptist Church in 1846 at the age of 21.

17. Nash, "History," p.4.

18. Nash, "History," p. 3.

19. Nash, "History," pp. 3-4.

20. Nash, "History," p. 4.

21. Nash, "History," p.5.

22. Nash, "History," p.5.

23. For an examination of ante-bellum northern black religious themes see, Monroe Fordham, *Major Themes in Northern Black Religious Thought, 1800-1860*, Hicksville, New York: Exposition-University Books.

24. The number ranged from about 300 in the 1830s to approximately 1100 in 1890.

25. The *Colored American*, January 27, 1838, p.1, c.4. The four officers of the Michigan Street Baptist Church were Peyton Harris, Nathan Steward, William Qualls, and John Dandridge.

26. The *Colored American*, April 17, 1841, P.2, C.1.

27. Nash, "History," p.3.

28. Bell, Howard Holman, *Minutes and Proceedings of the National Negro*

Conventions, 1830-1864. (New York: Arno Press and New York Times). Specifically, see the proceedings of the 1843, the 1849 conventions.

29. Newspaper clipping, dated June 30, 1939, in the clipping file at the Buffalo/Erie County Historical Society Library.

30. *Ibid.*

31. National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, for Michigan Street Baptist Church.

32. Johnson, Charles S., "The Negro in Buffalo," a paper written for the Buffalo Urban League, p.71. The paper was written around 1927. A copy is in the University Archives, SUNY at Buffalo.

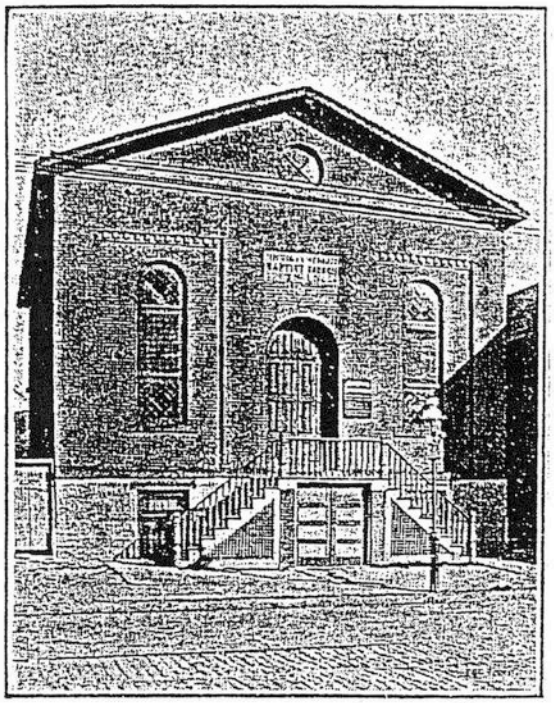
APPENDIX E: HAMILTON HOUSTON LOWNIE REPORT

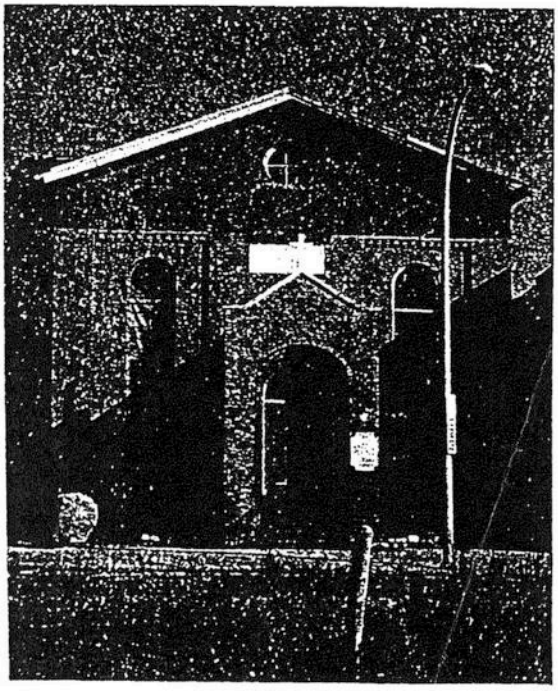
The following reports were prepared in 1996-1997 by Ted Lownie of Hamilton Houston Lownie Architects, Buffalo, New York. This was the first professional evaluation in recent years to address the historic significance and structural conditions at the Michigan Street Baptist Church. It provided a limited architectural description, and noted various alterations and additions to the original building. The report also outlined proposed restoration work and provided estimates for rehabilitation. It should be noted that based on research by Historical New York Research Associates, Crawford & Stearns, and generous experts who provided information from their own research the exact dates of the east and west additions have now been documented.

Michigan Street Baptist Church

Buffalo, NY

HISTORIC
STRUCTURES
REPORT





Hamilton Houston
Lownie Architects
172 Allen Street
Buffalo, NY 14201

January 9, 1997

Michigan Street Baptist Church

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

HAMILTON
HOUSTON
LOWNIE

Significance

The Michigan Street Baptist Church, constructed in 1845 at 511 Michigan Street (now Avenue), is the oldest structure in Western New York built for and continuously occupied by African Americans. The building was nominated for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places in October 1973, and placed on the Register February 12, 1974.

The Areas of Significance for this site are listed on the nomination form as "Political," "Religion / Philosophy," "Social Humanitarian," and "Black History." The Statement of Significance and the "Origins of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" support each of the categories listed, and are included in Appendix A.

Historical Context

While architecture, art or landscape architecture are not explicitly referred to in the nomination, one begins to get both a sense of the community character and density in the middle of the nineteenth century, and the building's architectural quality through a reading of the narrative. The Michigan Street neighborhood of the 1840's was the boundary of the fourth and fifth wards, a community of mixed races and ethnicities. While not the area's majority population, most of the city's black families (approximately 350 in 1845) lived in this neighborhood. Typical of early neighborhood patterns, residential, commercial, religious, civic, and educational structures comprised each community at a time when most people walked. Such was the neighborhood where "a very fine piece of land" was purchased c.1842, on which the construction of the present church was planned. In 1844 the congregation numbered 56 and materials for construction were obtained. The pastor, Rev. Samuel Davis, a mason by trade, began construction in 1845, and the first service was held in the new structure in 1846. *(fig. 2)*

Michigan Street Baptist Church

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

HAMILTON
HOUSTON
LOWNIE

Architectural Description - Exterior

Nineteenth century maps and photographs show a rectangular building of brick construction rising above a high, rough cut stone foundation. *(fig. 3a)* The building was designed and constructed as a free standing building with all four sides designed with some consistency and built of the same and similar materials. The roof is a simple gable whose ridge runs east-west. The primary (west) facade is a tripartite, symmetrical composition which was given a greater attention to detail that the side and rear elevations. This is seen in the well cut, dressed stone water table, semicircular topped wood double door and transomed center entrance flanked by tall, rectangular brick recesses, each of which contains a tall, slender round-topped window. The top brick course of each recess is articulated by a row of alternating projecting, denticular header brick. A roundel window is centered above the entry in the upper facade. A carved stone plaque, again centered in the facade is installed flush with the brick above the entry. The inscription reads "Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1845." Lintels above the at-grade basement level windows appear to have been cut to a uniform size suggesting that the original wood double hung windows were of a uniform width. The sills of the tall main floor windows are generous, extending a good 8" into the brick walls beyond the window jambs. Those of the west (front) elevation are stone while the others are concrete.

A notable feature of the original west elevation was the double exterior stair of nine risers each, from grade to landing, apparently of wood construction. This stair assembly, with each run of steps constructed parallel to the street and public sidewalk, also contained the entrance to the basement levels of the building by utilizing the space below the landing for a low pair of doors.

North and south side elevations are correspondingly simple, containing two tall windows each, differing from the front elevation by virtue of their square tops. Timber lintels support masonry above. The rear (east) elevation, originally similar to the front facade, has two tall windows aligned with those of the front, but differ by having square heads matching the side elevations. These windows, however, have thin wood lintels (2-5/8"), probably not original. The side and rear elevations are constructed of brick in a flush plane without recesses or ornament. Positioning of the side windows expresses the spatial distribution of the original main floor plan, while their height acknowledges the large, simple volume of the primary space. Based on the west facade primary windows, the original windows appear to have been fixed leaded glass with pivoting sections in the lower portions which provided ventilation. The original center portion of the rear facade is somewhat enigmatic given that a brick addition was constructed in the later part of the nineteenth century to expand the sanctuary, thus removing evidence of any opening in this area. An exit from the basement probably existed in the same location as today, although the small masonry enclosure is a later addition.

Michigan Street Baptist Church

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

HAMILTON
HOUSTON
LOWNIE

Architectural Description - Interior

The interior was originally a simple, near cubic volume, with balcony / choir loft at the west end and sanctuary at the east, defined by plaster walls and flat ceiling. The congregation most probably entered the main floor nave from a vestibule or narthex space below the choir loft. A subsequent addition to the west front (probably early twentieth century), provides an interior stair assembly to basement and main floor while continuing to function as a vestibule. The main floor primary space is column free as a result of three timber king post trusses which span the space and form the roof. The bottom chords are part of the ceiling framing. The basement is, however, columned to support the main floor. The extent of original interior ornament is unknown, but the present space contains simple plaster moldings at window heads. A stepped plaster molding at the juncture of walls and ceiling takes its form from the corbeled brick underneath which creates the bearing for the ceiling framing system. The effect of this simplicity is a clear reading of the dignified, well-proportioned interior.

The roll roofing and aluminum gutters are relatively modern, having been replaced in 1976. The original roof was most likely a wood shingle type removed many years ago.

Interior changes are less clear since photographic or written documentation prior to 1900 has yet to be found. However, the basement shows evidence of early structural reinforcement whereby floor joists were cut to allow the insertion of two main beams running east-west. These beams were in turn supported at approximate third points by fluted cast iron columns; two per beam. Column design suggests that this change occurred c.1880-1890. *(fig. 14)* Other interior changes have been primarily cosmetic finishes added over the course of time. Interior removals over time consist essentially of furniture, fixtures and fittings such as pews, altar artifacts, and other furnishings. *(fig. 15, fig. 16)*

Michigan Street Baptist Church

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

HAMILTON
HOUSTON
LOWNIE

Alterations & Additions to the 1845 Building

The first addition to the original rectangular structure occurred sometime near the end of the nineteenth century with the addition of increased space for the sanctuary on the east end of the building. It is of simple shed-like design, lower than the main building. Brick work is similar to that of the main structure, but without any ornamentation or extension of foundation, water table, or sill lines from the original. Windows are simple one over one double-hung type, originally having shallow arched heads. The masonry at these window heads is composed of a double row of header brick.*(fig. 4b)* The addition allowed for the interior construction of an apse-like space, with half-dome suspended plaster ceiling, containing a sunken baptismal, a row of wood Ionic columns surrounded the baptismal which have been replaced with similar columns but of Tuscan design. An office and stair to the basement complete the space in the addition. *(fig. 5, fig. 6)* It appears that the small masonry enclosure for the original basement exit stair in the northwest corner was also constructed at this time. Historic photographs indicate a new railing and basement doors on the west facade, suggesting that the original wood elements had deteriorated in the latter part of the nineteenth century. *(fig. 3b)*

The second addition replaced the original exterior double stair on the primary (west) facade with an enclosed stair to both the basement and main floor. This addition appears to be from the early years of the twentieth century, c. 1915 - 1920 and while its red brick walls are similar to the original, it is more stylized in both elevation, profile and detail, particularly around the set back entry doors. The portal masonry is interesting in that it begins as a slightly flattened arch at the building face and transforms with each step in the brick recessing, to a semicircular arch at the door. *(fig. 7)* The small facade of this addition contains a shouldered pediment, somewhat more stylized than the original church.

Subsequent changes to the exterior include replacement of windows. The west facade tall windows appear to contain original leaded colored glass in a geometric pattern, yet missing areas have been replaced with modern infill. *(fig. 8, fig. 9)* Side and rear elevation primary windows are modern replacements with no remaining evidence of the original. *(fig. 4a, fig. 4c)*

Secondary windows on the main floor, rear addition east wall are contemporary rectangular, one over one double-hung replacements with a filler piece at the head to accommodate the original shallow arch. *(fig. 4b)* The two windows on the north side were changed to glass block in 1995. *(fig. 10)*

Basement windows are substantially altered from what is believed to have been three over six wood double hung windows. Present windows vary from contemporary fixed types to glass block infill. *(fig. 4b, fig. 9, fig. 11, fig 12)* The south wall basement wood window contains the most original components. *(fig. 13)*

A free standing masonry chimney was added to the north side of the original building, date unknown, but most likely occurred with a change in the heating system. The original chimney which is contained within the walls of the original rectangular structure, exists in the northeast corner of the building. *(fig. 10)*

The exterior brick has been partially painted red. That applied to the west facade appears to be for primarily cosmetic reasons while on areas of the north, east and south, achieving some measure of waterproofing or protection of the soft brick may have been the motivation.

Michigan Street Baptist Church

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Proposed Restoration Work

Restoration of the Michigan Street Baptist church must take two primary factors into account: programmed use, and building condition.

The building is currently owned and occupied by Congregation El Bethel of the Light of the World Missions and is functioning as a fully operational church. While this is not the original Second Baptist Church congregation that founded the church and occupied it until 1962, the building is none the less being used as originally intended; a house of worship. Extensions of the primary religious activity are seen in ancillary facilities such as the kitchen, large meeting room in the basement, and office spaces of the main floor. The church accommodates programs external to its mission such as tours related to the social history of the building and use of the basement for meetings.

Program options include:

1. Restoration of the entire building as a museum and interpretive site. This would necessitate relocation of the present Congregation El Bethel to a new location.

2. Continued occupancy of the main floor for worship services, including support office space, while the basement level would house the museum / interpretive facility.

Physical building restoration work can be categorized as that which must be done regardless of program choice and that which is executed to accommodate a program choice.

Restoration of the building structure / shell is necessary if it is to survive. While there has been maintenance, repair and remodeling work done over the years (and as recently as 1995), there has been no true restoration activity.

The exterior masonry requires both rebuilding and repointing. Areas of the north and east walls are bowing outward in response to problems in the roof structure. *(fig. 17, fig. 18)* Stress cracking is apparent on the west elevation, again related to structural problems in the roof. *(fig. 1)* In other areas, particularly where water and the effects of freeze / thaw have both eroded mortar joints and spalled the brick face. *(fig. 4b)*

Foundation parging and waterproofing has deteriorated, particularly around basement windows. Restoration that is coordinated with work at these windows would be appropriate.

The roof, roof structure and drainage system comprise an integral system despite their separate functions and natures.

A. The roof itself, when seen from the inner face to the present outer (weather) face, consists of the original 1 x 12 wood plank sheathing, spaced for the ventilation requirements of the original exterior material. This material appears to be in good condition. Original roofing was most likely wood shingles which were replaced by what had to be a number of other roofing systems in its 150 year history. The present system of rolled asphalt is about 20 years

old and is near the end of its useful life. Penetrations and flashing conditions are few, consisting of a hatch on the north face, the original chimney in the northeast corner, and vent stack for plumbing on the low rear roof, as well as the juncture of east and west building additions to the original.

B. The roof structure consists of three main king post trusses at 12 foot centers, spanning between the north and south exterior walls. 5½" x 8" beams run east and west between the trusses and bear on the masonry gable end walls. 3" x 4" roof rafters run parallel to the trusses at 24" o.c. and are supported at mid span by the roof beams. 2" x 6" ceiling joists complete the triangulated system, running east and west between the bottom chords of the roof trusses, and bear on the corbeled masonry of the gabled end walls. Repairs and reinforcement of system components is necessary. *(fig. 19, fig. 20, fig. 21, fig. 22, fig. 23, fig. 24)*

1. One roof truss in the wood framed attic has a split top chord which has substantially weakened the truss. The wood member needs reinforcement consisting of two (2) pieces of 3" x 12" x 10' long framing lumber bolted to each side of the split member.

2. An existing wood diagonal member of one of the attic roof trusses has become disconnected from the top chord of the truss, thus weakening the truss as a whole. The member needs to be reconnected and the connection reinforced with a 6" x 18" x 1/4" steel plate attached to each side of the connection and bolted together, through the connection.

3. One of the roof beams running east-west is showing signs of severe deterioration, particularly at the east end where it bears on the beast brick wall. The masonry is bulging outward, weakening the wall and allowing water to enter through the mortar joints to the wood beam. The beam must be stabilized with two (2) new 3" x 8" x 10' long members bolted through the beam. The new reinforcing members need to be positioned so that the east end is fully bearing on the masonry. Simultaneously, the brick wall must be reconstructed in the distorted area to provide an integral wall providing proper bearing.

C. The roof drainage system consists simply of gutters that run the length of the north and south walls of the original building, the east wall of the rear addition, and both sides of the front vestibule addition. All have conductors except the rear addition, although most are not connected to a storm sewer causing deterioration of brick masonry, stone foundations and parging. *(fig. 25, fig. 26)*

Historic photographs indicate the presence of yankee gutters on the original building at the turn of the century, probably being added with the first replacement roof. Eave projections appear to have

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Historic photographs indicate the presence of yankee gutters on the original building at the turn of the century, probably being added with the first replacement roof. Eave projections appear to have

been much as they are today, extending no more than a foot beyond the walls, enough for rain or melting snow to fall free of the masonry and shallow enough not to require bracketing. Fascia and trim have deteriorated and require replacement.

The only original windows appear to be the two large round head windows of the west (primary) facade, the roundel in the west gable and one basement window on the south wall. All are in seriously deteriorated condition, with substantial areas of missing elements. Fortunately the west windows have enough remaining colored glass and caming to determine the original colors, patterns, materials and construction. These are character defining and need to be restored to their original, simple geometric beauty. The south basement window, wood double hung, has missing muntins but is still able to be restored. The wood roundel in the west gable is in fairly good condition, capable of restoration. Curiously the crossing muntins appear to be vertical / horizontal in the oldest photograph, rotated to 45° around the turn of the century and re-rotated back to the vertical position at some point in this century, remaining in that position to the present time.

No other windows are original and consideration should be given to replacement with more compatible, energy efficient windows at these locations.

The lintels of three original large windows on the north (1) and east elevations (2) vary from original types to smaller replacements. The reasons for these changes are unknown, but new timber lintels matching the original size should be installed where they were altered.

Structural reinforcement of the roof, beyond that previously described, and the main floor should be done to increase the live load capacity of these building systems. The evidence of this condition in the roof is seen in the sagging of the ridge between trusses. Reinforcement of roof rafters is recommended to increase the structural capability of the roof.

The main floor has had additional columns or jack posts added in addition to those of the late nineteenth century. These were most likely the result of localized noticeable stresses induced by a particular load such as a piano or organ. Removal of all the wood pews and placement of contemporary lightweight chairs has rendered the problem less apparent. An overall approach including floor joist reinforcement and additional columns is necessary for long term use of the building.

Restoration of the interior spaces will be driven by decisions concerning the programmed use of the building. Present finishes are essentially modern and certainly serviceable for current activity. None, however, evoke a sense of the church as it must have appeared 100 to 150 years ago.

The main worship space has varying height wall surfacing of wood paneling applied over the original plaster, which was reportedly done as an alternative to needed plaster restoration. The plaster ceiling has cracked most noticeably along the lines of the roof trusses and will require restoration when the roof / ceiling structure is reinforced. A return to the simplicity of plaster, repaired and / or restored will be important if this space is to appear as it did over a century ago.

The floor is presently a good quality wall to wall carpet covering a wood floor in unknown condition. Restoration again should follow corrective work on the floor structure.

Interior doors in the space are of modern style fitted into the original openings which have been lowered to accommodate them. More detailed research at the original jambs needs to be done to determine how doors originally occurred in these openings.

Ancillary main floor spaces have similar wall and floor treatments as well as acoustic ceilings, all of which can be removed and the original restored.

The basement is treated with vinyl flooring and gypsum board walls which again are serviceable for present uses. Investigation as to subsurface finishes that remain is a critical prelude to restoration in these areas. The ceiling is painted bead board which is a good candidate for restoration. It is likely that bead board was used in a number of instances, including wainscoting, in the building.

Modern mechanical and electrical systems are prevalent throughout including a forced air heating system with distribution ductwork exposed in the basement and surface mounted electrical systems. Restoration work will, to a great degree, depend on the use of these spaces in the interpretation of the site.

The following cost estimate is based on restoration of all interior spaces as well as the exterior, and presumes occupancy, in part, for the museum / interpretive center.

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Michigan Street Baptist Church

HAMILTON HOUSTON LOWNIE

January 7, 1997

BAER AND ASSOCIATES / CONSTRUCTION CONSULTANTS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH 97-5

BUFFALO, NEW YORK

HAMILTON HOUSTON LOWNIE ARCHITECTS, P.C.

CONCEPT ESTIMATE 1 -97

DESCRIPTION	TOTAL COST
EXTERIOR	
NEW WOOD SHINGLE ROOF	$24,000
REPAIR AND RE-PAINT WOOD EAVES, TRIM AND FASCIA	$10,000
NEW GUTTERS / DOWNSPOUTS	$15,000
REPAIR AND RE-POINT EXTERIOR MASONRY WALLS AND CHIMNEY	$250,000
PARGE FIELDSTONE WALLS	$11,000
REPAIR/REPLACE WINDOWS	$90,000
NEW OAK ENTRANCE DOORS AND FRAMES WITH TRANSOM	$15,000
NEW SANITARY SEWER TO STREET	$10,000
INTERIOR	
STRUCTURAL REPAIRS TO ROOF	$5,000
STRUCTURAL REPAIRS TO FIRST FLOOR	$27,000
REPAIR PLASTER WALLS AND CEILINGS	$71,000
REPAIR/REFINISH WOOD FLOOR	$25,000
REPAIR/REPLACE WOOD INTERIOR STAIRS AND WOODWORK	$25,000
SANCTUARY FINISHES	$10,000
UNDERSTAIR AREA RESTORATION	$5,000
BASEMENT REHABILITATION	$50,000
PLUMBING	$25,000
HEATING AND VENTILATING	$10,000
ELECTRICAL	$26,000
TOTAL - PROJECT	$704,000

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

HAMILTON
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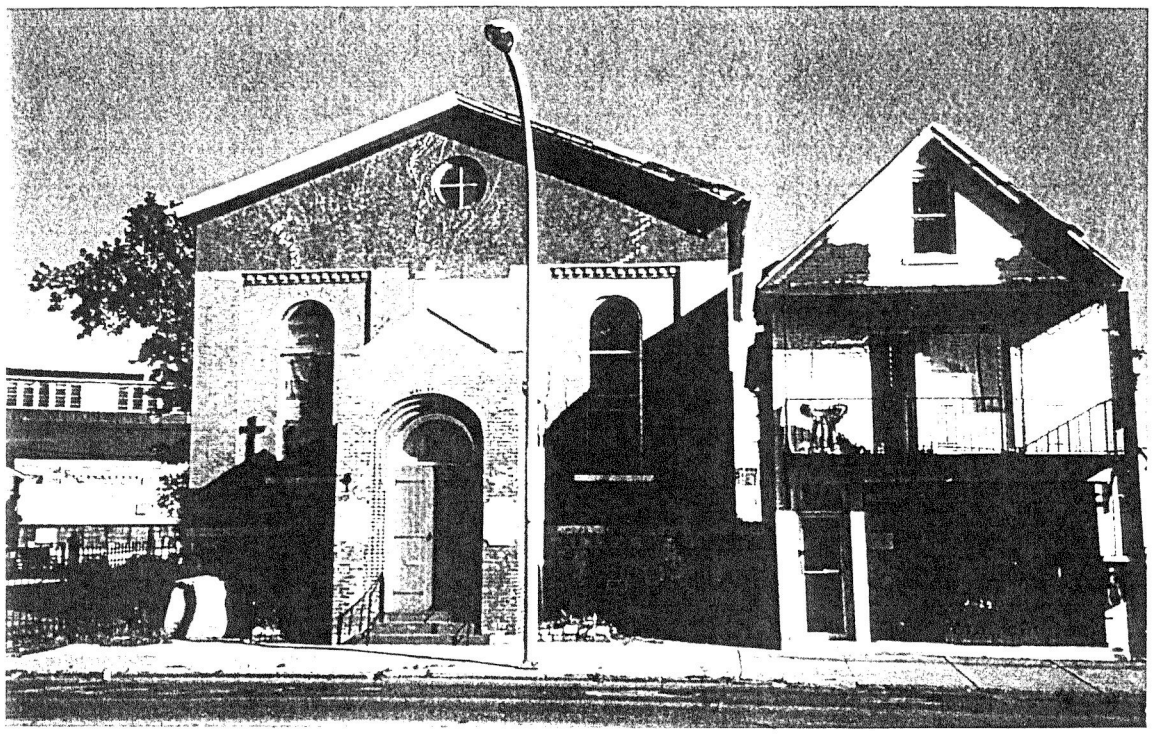
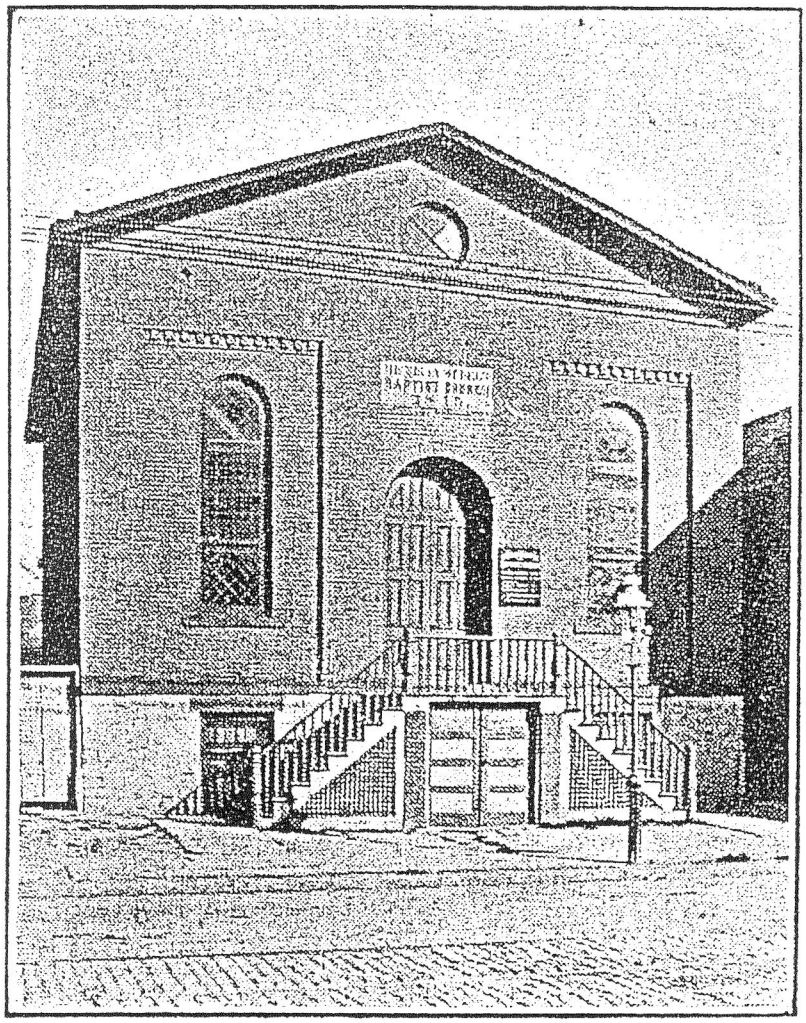


Fig. 1
Church and original adjacent building to the south.

November 12, 1996



EXTERIOR OF CHURCH

Fig. 3a

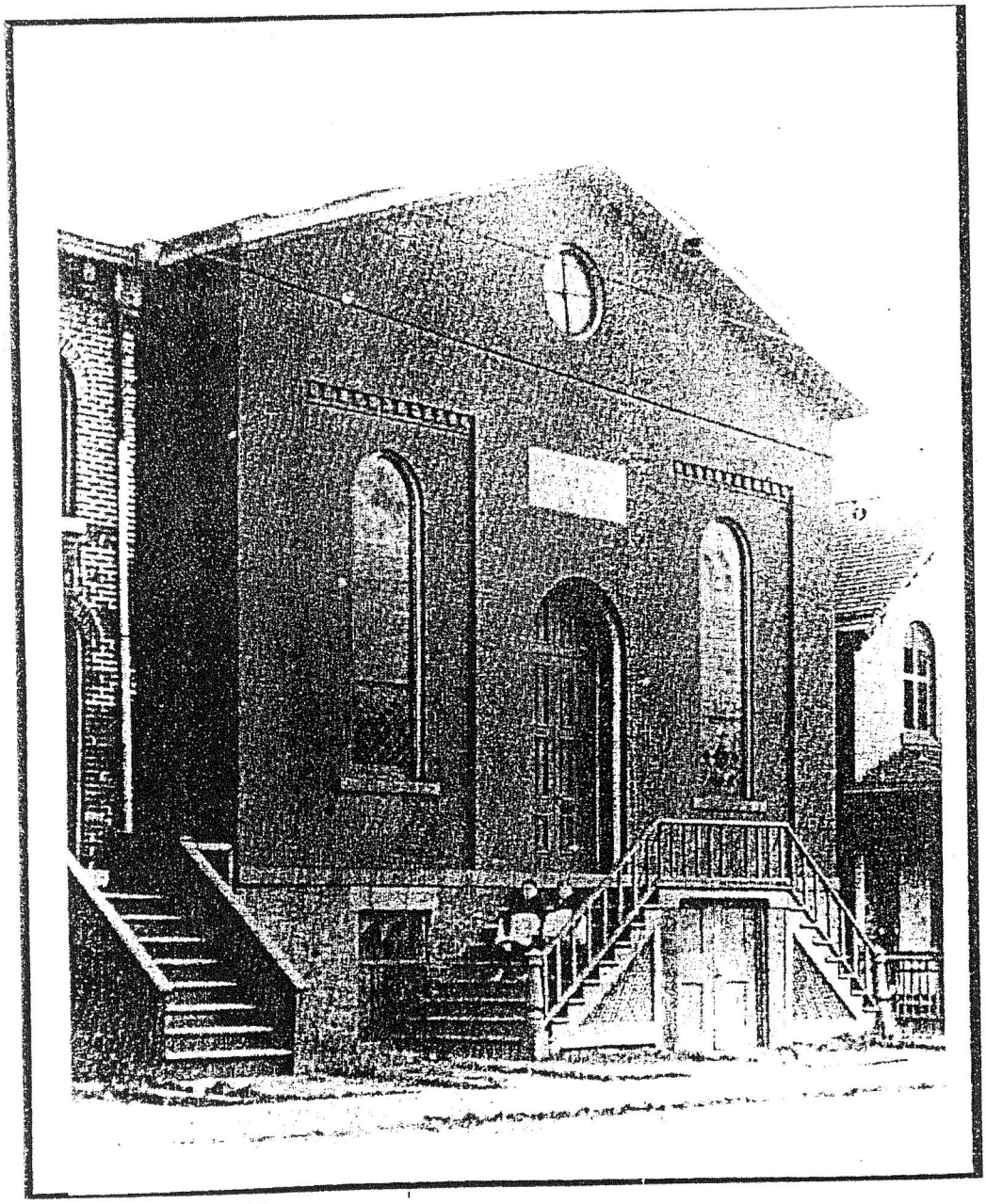


Fig. 3b **Michigan Street Baptist Church, circa 1890s**
(photo from Buffalo Erie County Historical Society)

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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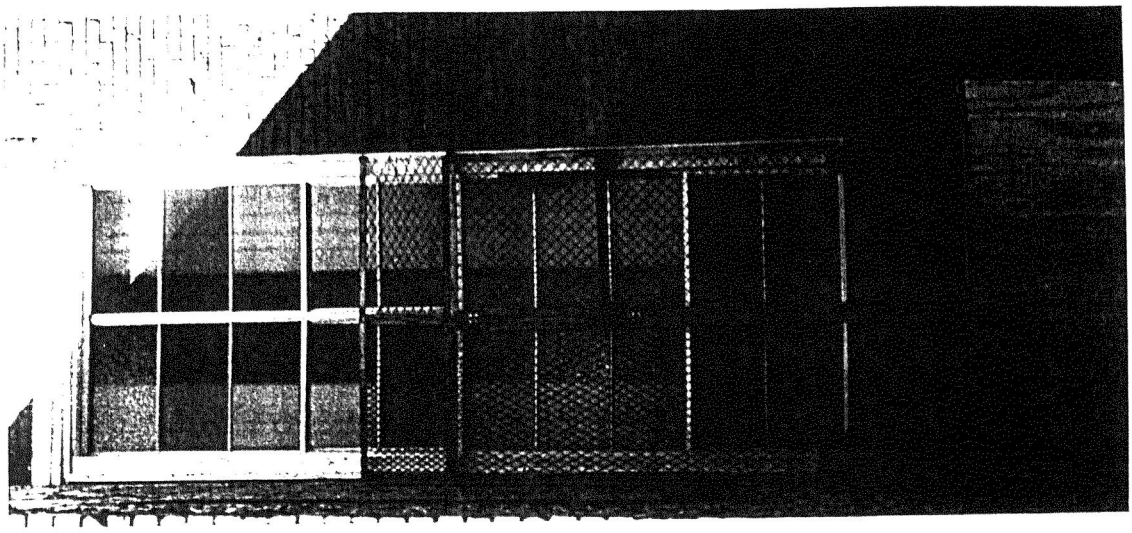

Fig. 4a

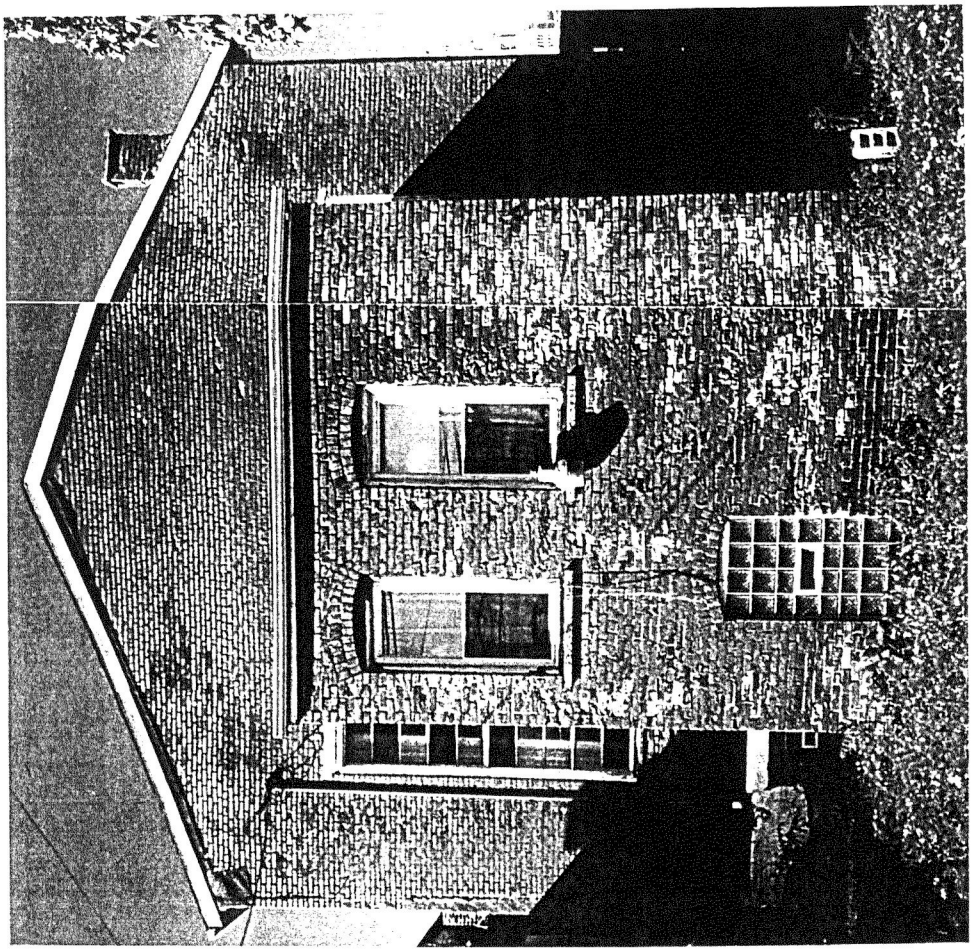

Fig. 4b

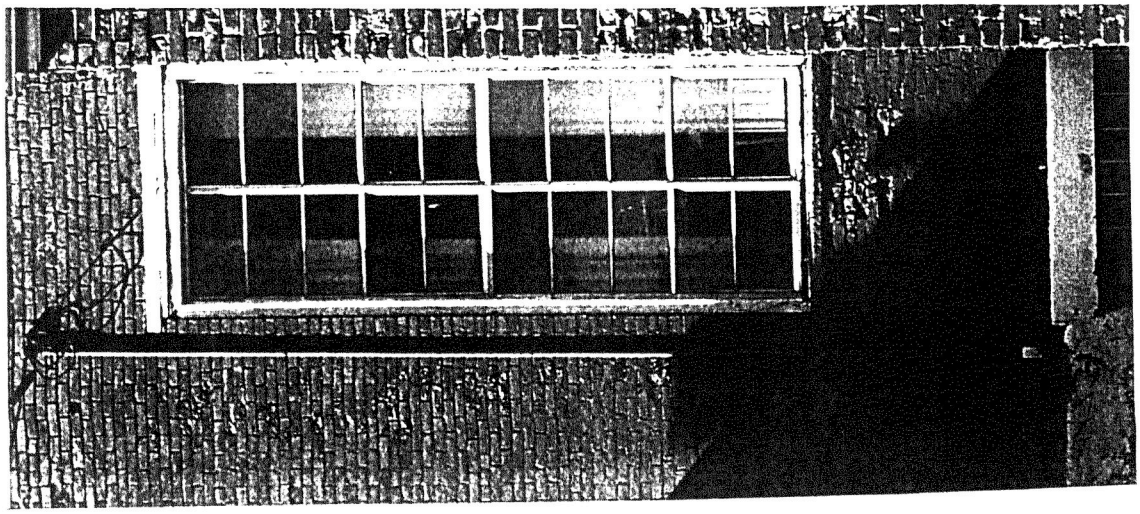

Fig. 4c

November 12,1996

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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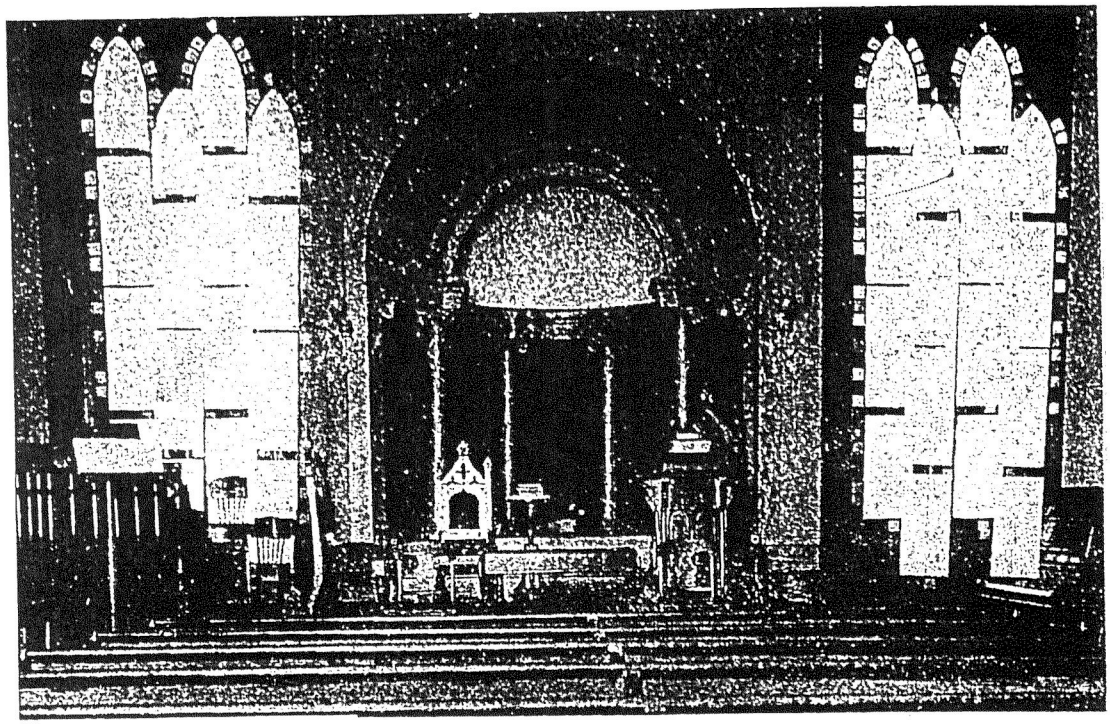

Fig. 5
c. 1900 nave & sanctuary

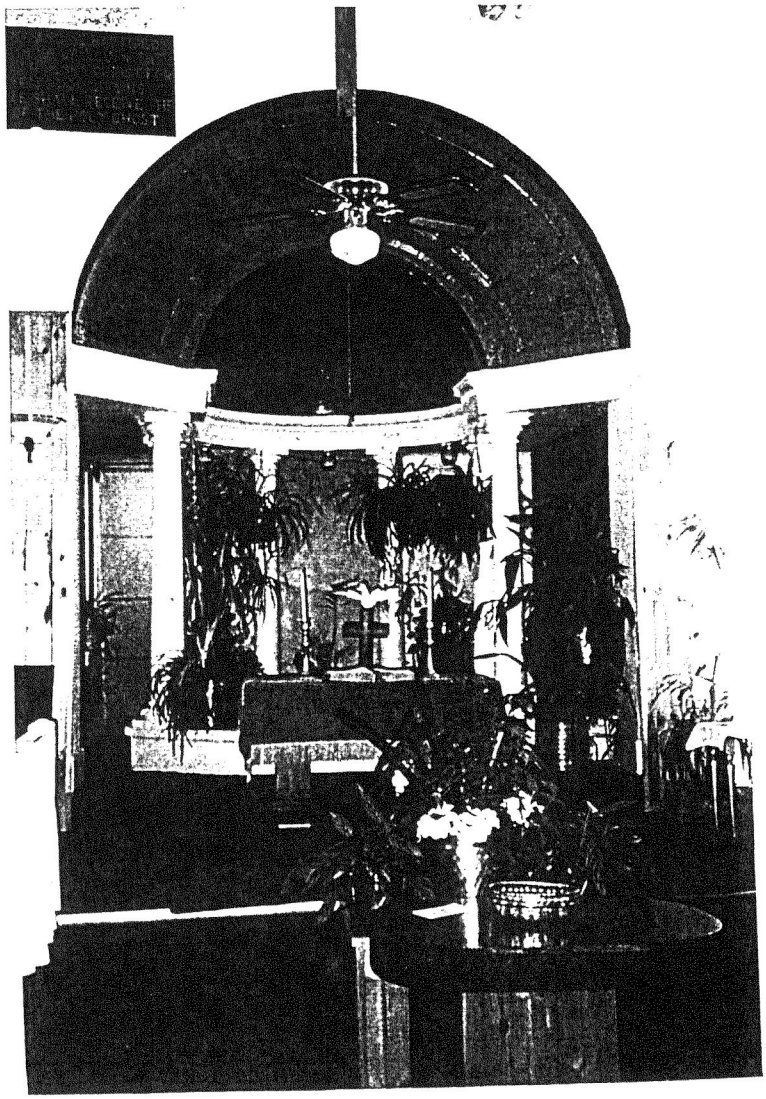

Fig. 6

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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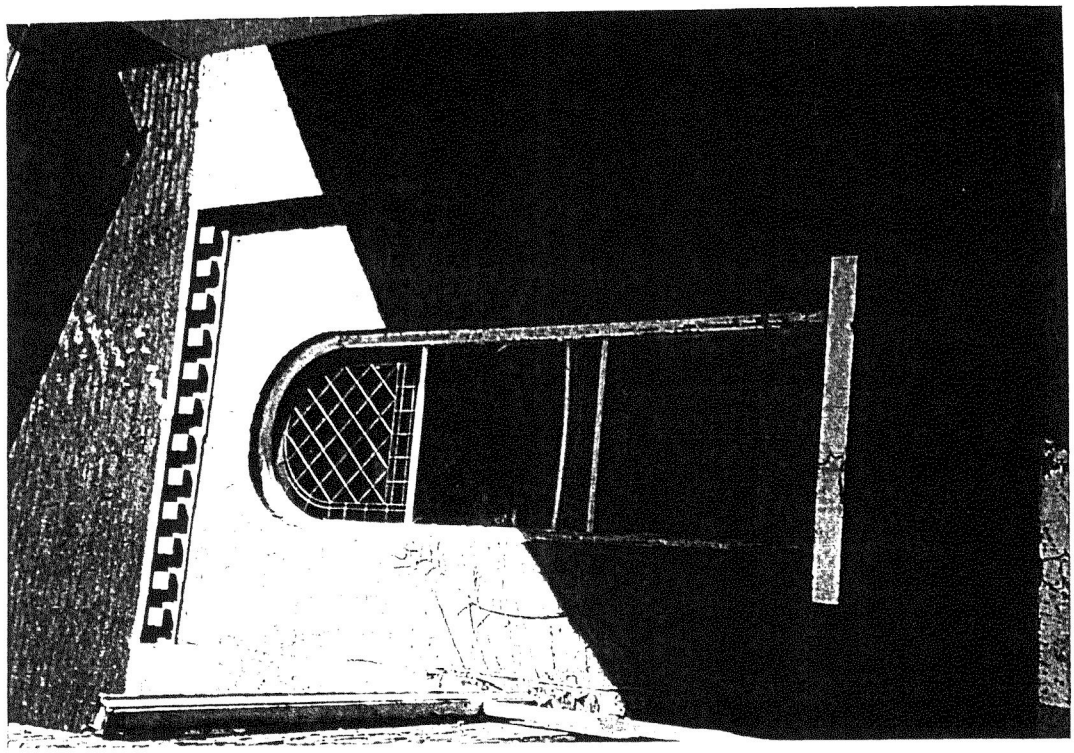

Fig. 8

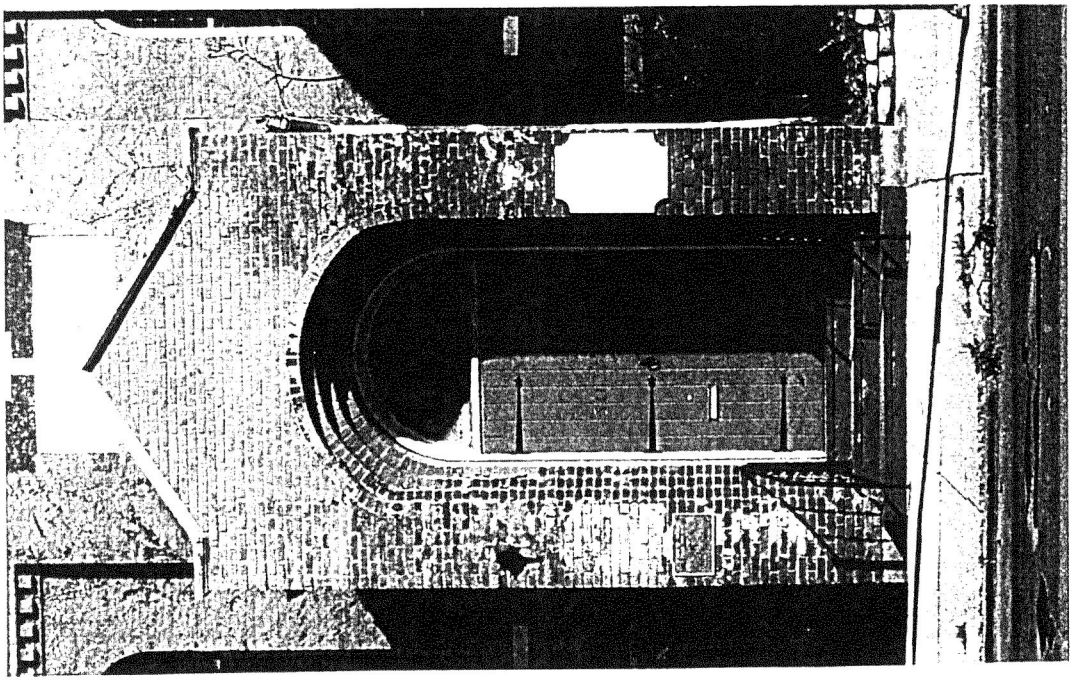

Fig. 7

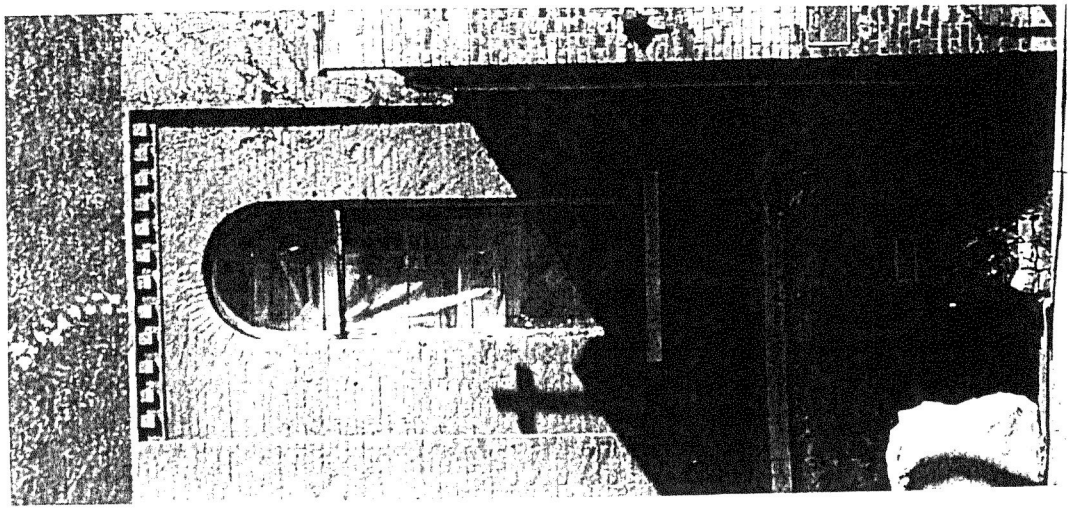

Fig. 9

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Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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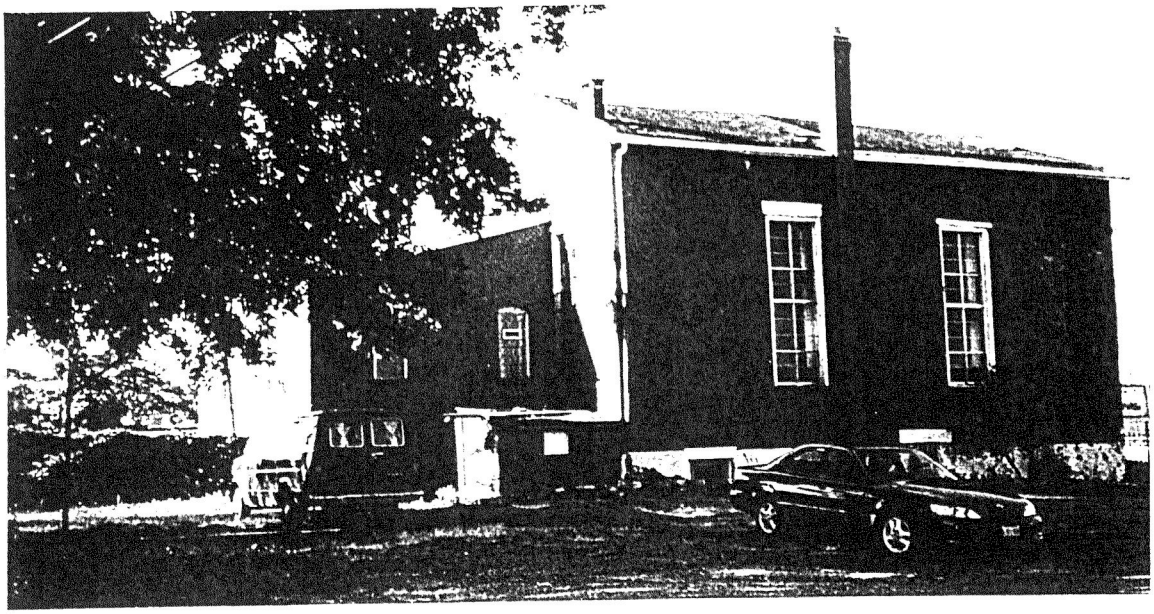

Fig. 10

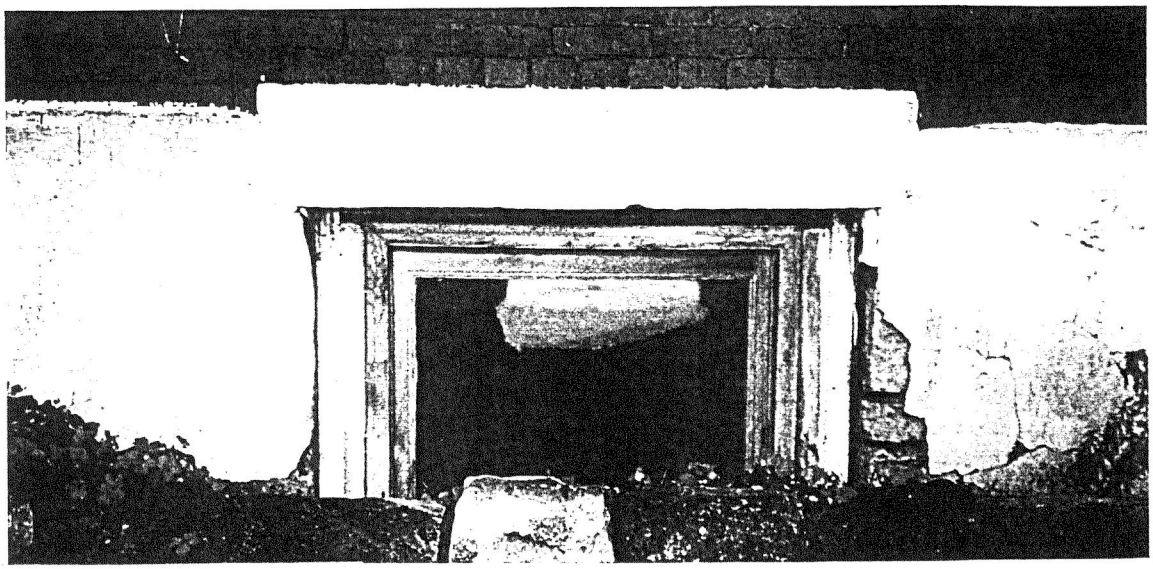

Fig. 11

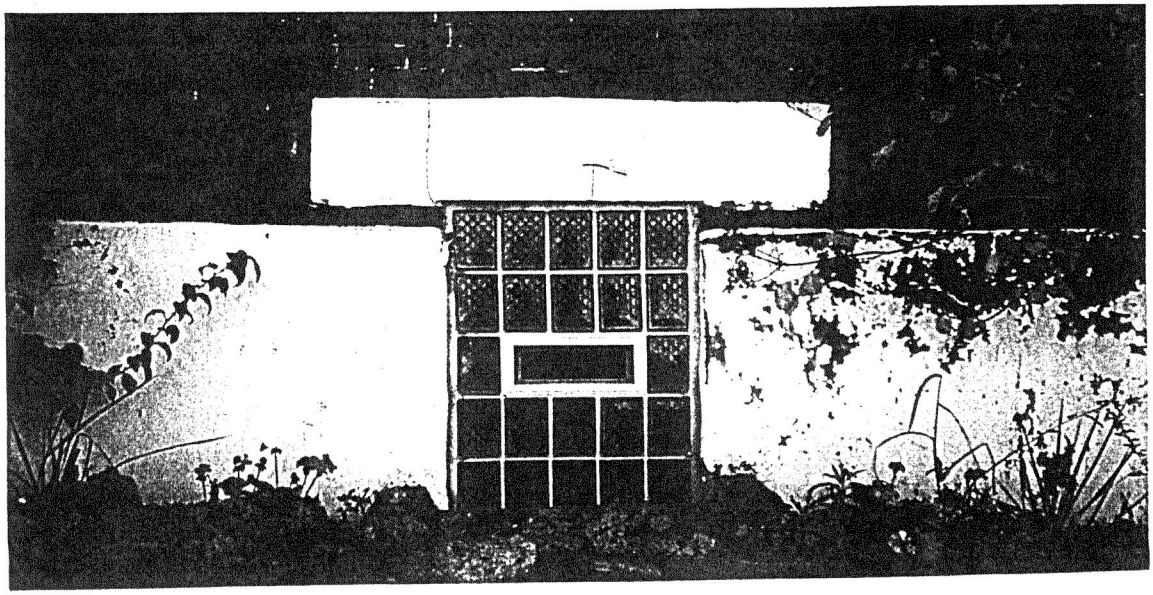

Fig. 12

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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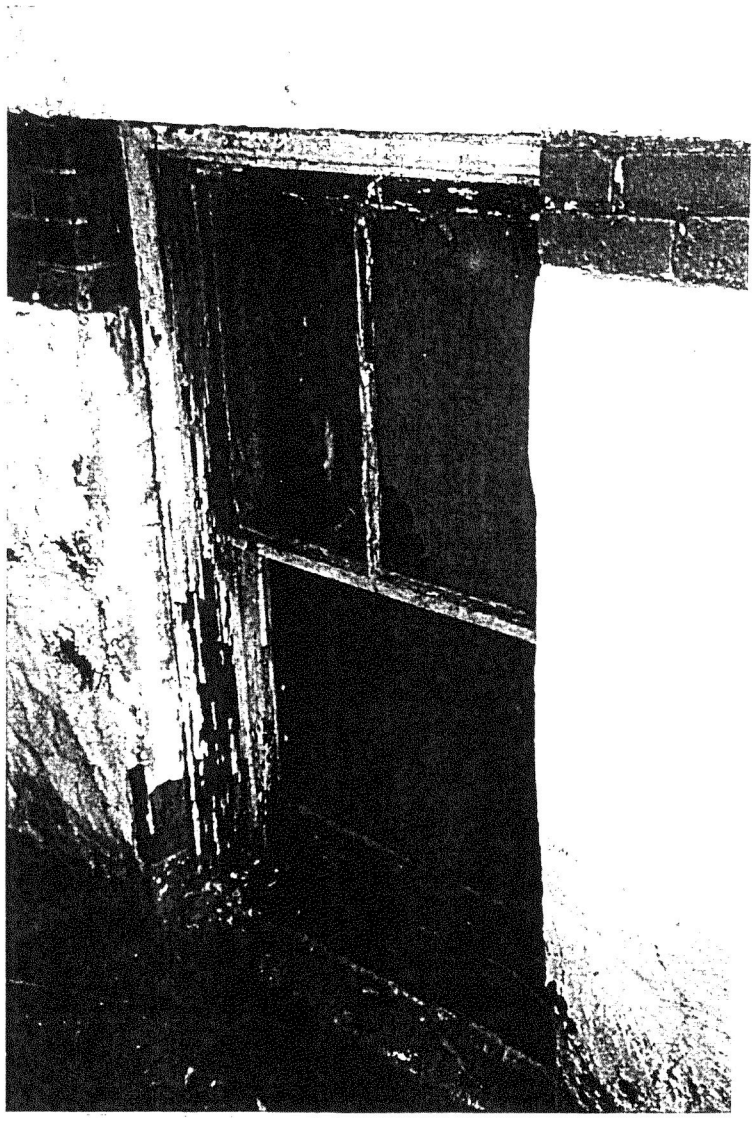

Fig. 13

November 12,1996

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

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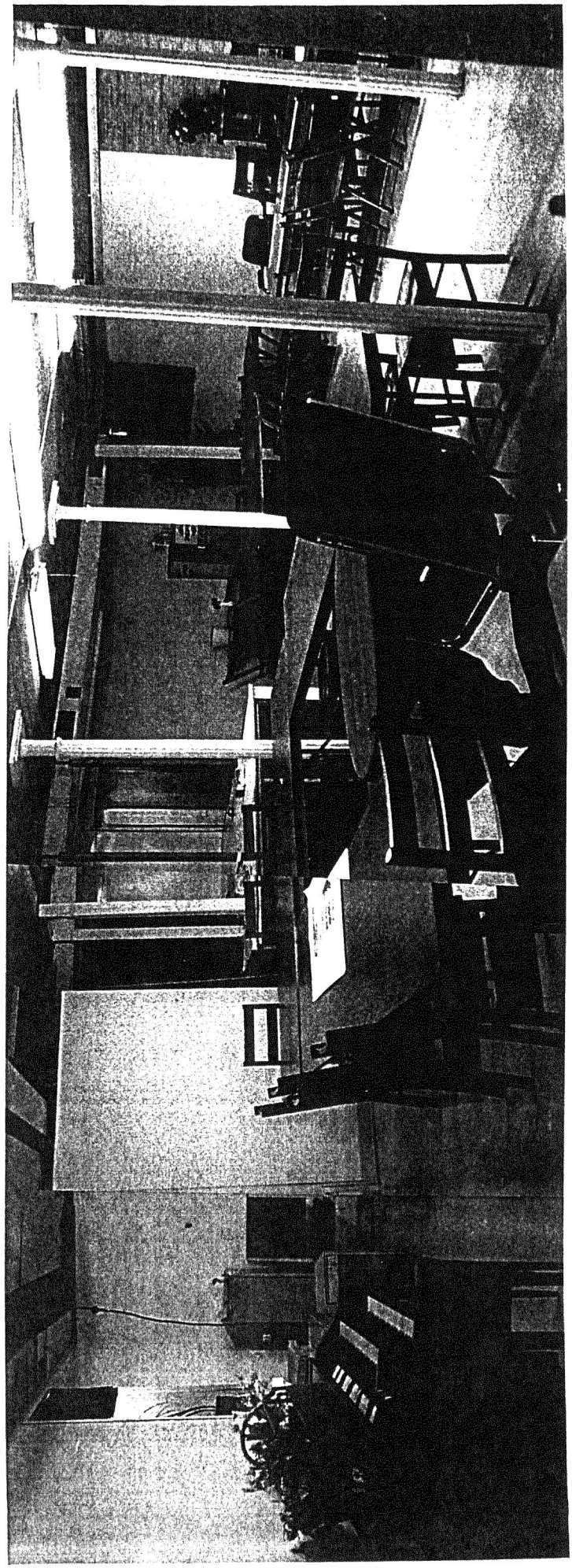

Fig. 14

November 12,1996

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

HAMILTON
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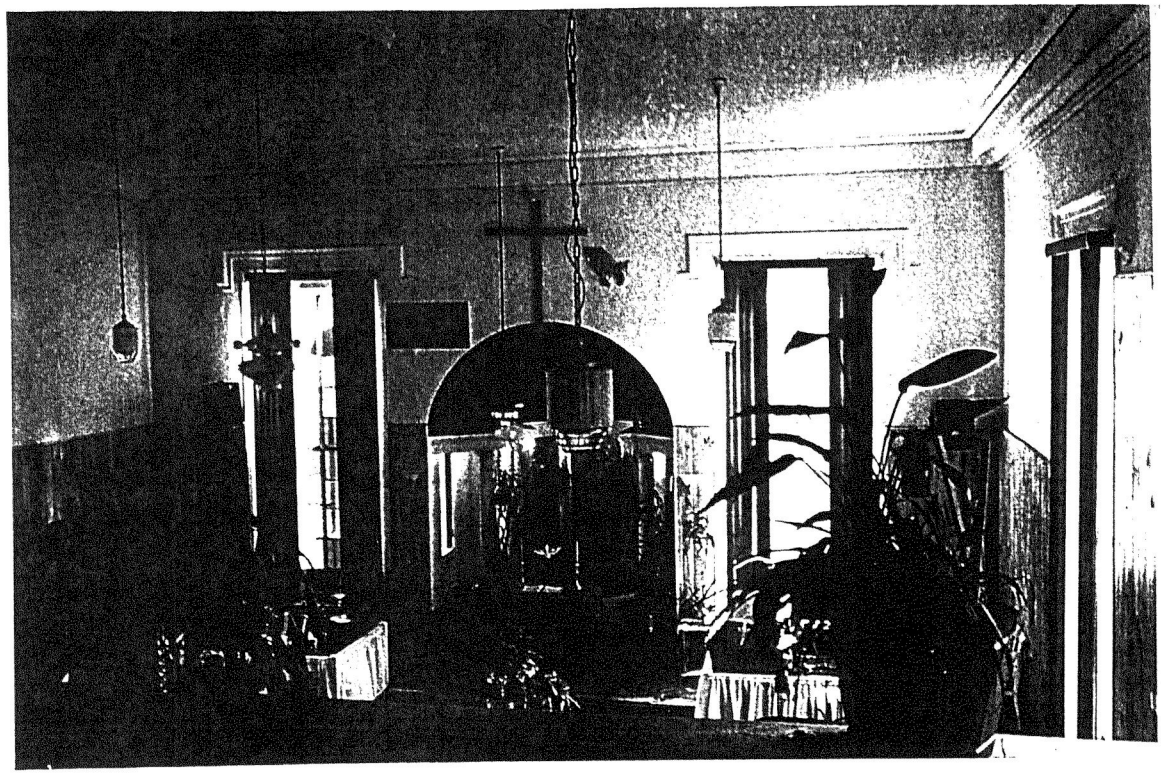

Fig. 15

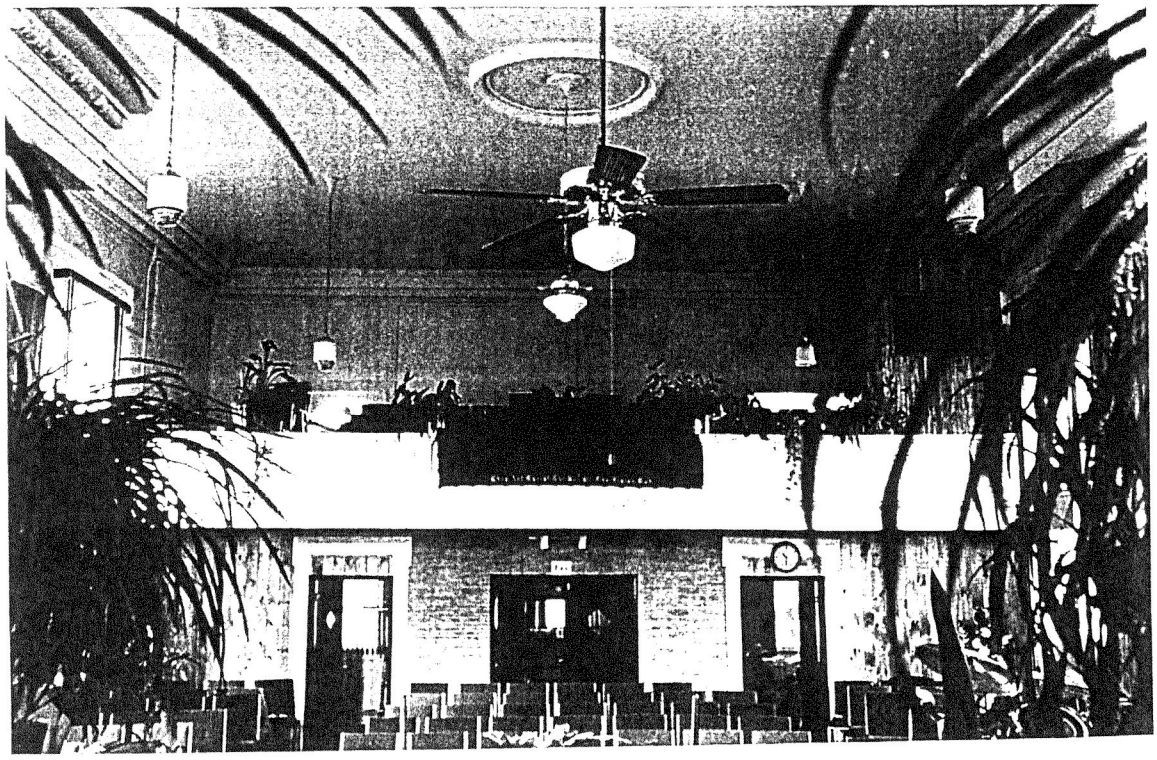

Fig. 16

Michigan Avenue Baptist Church

Existing Conditions

HAMILTON
HOUSTON
LOWNIE

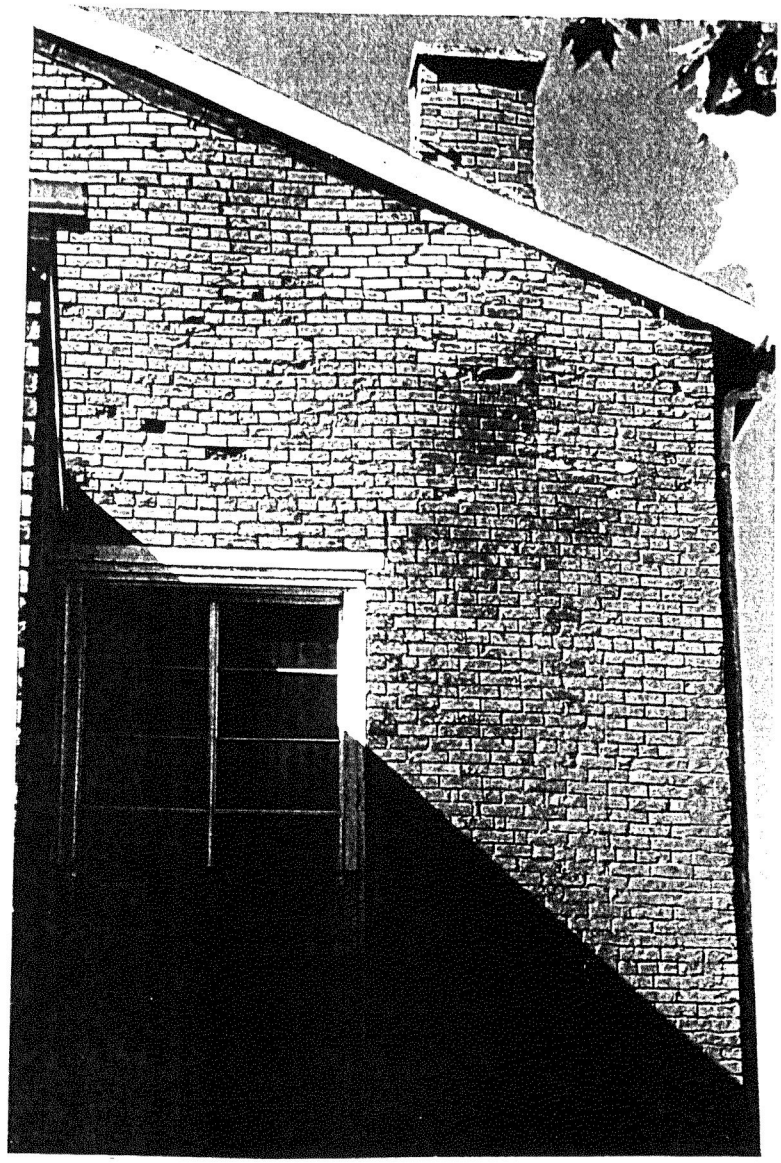

Fig. 17

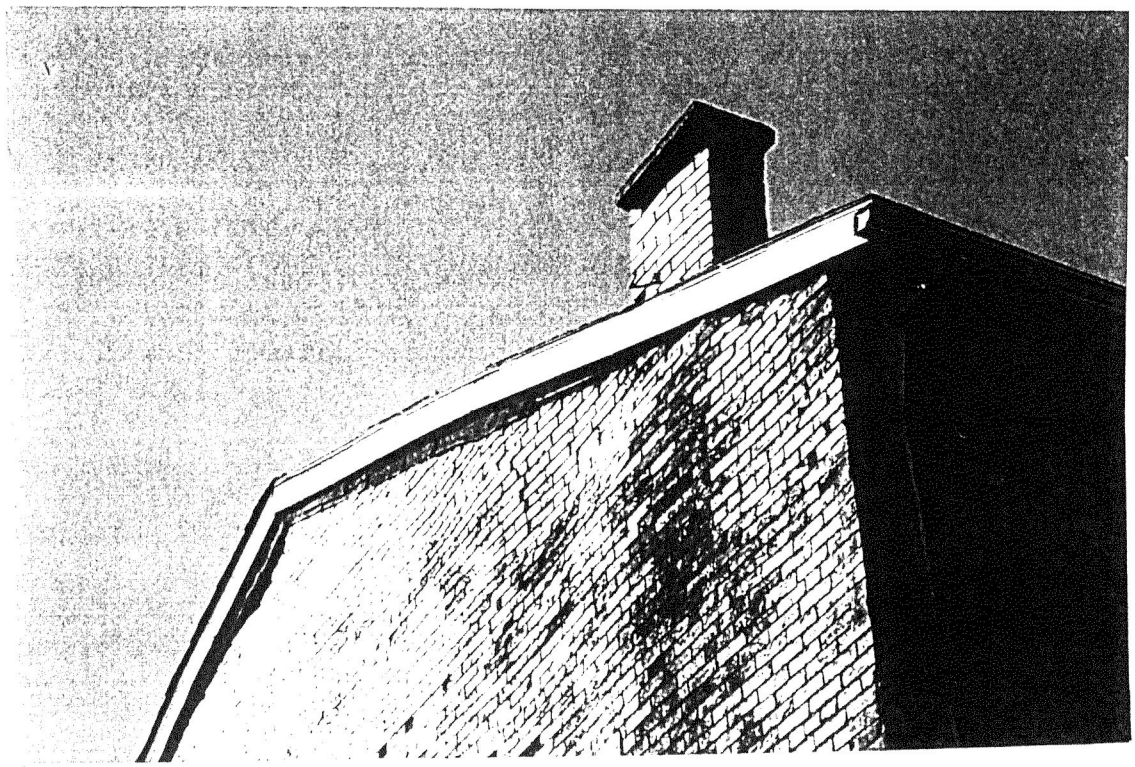

Fig. 18

November 12, 1996

Michigan Avenue Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

HAMILTON
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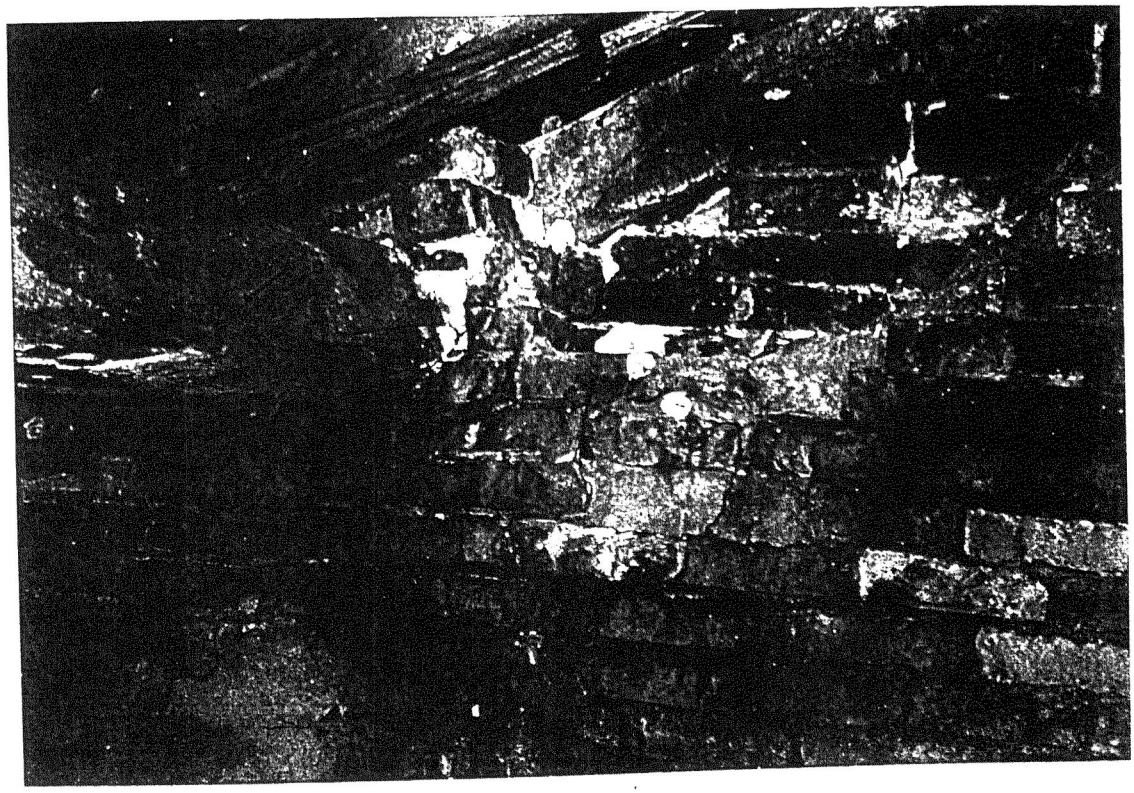

Fig. 21

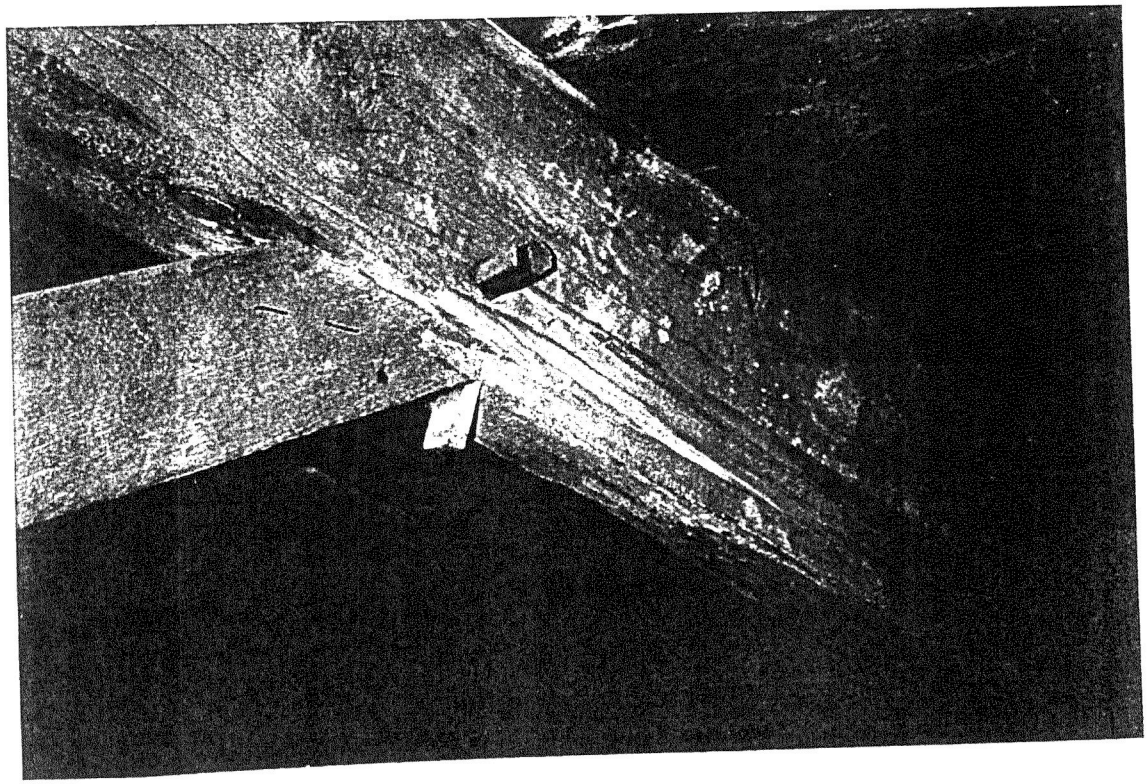

Fig. 22

Michigan Street Baptist Church

EXISTING CONDITIONS

HAMILTON
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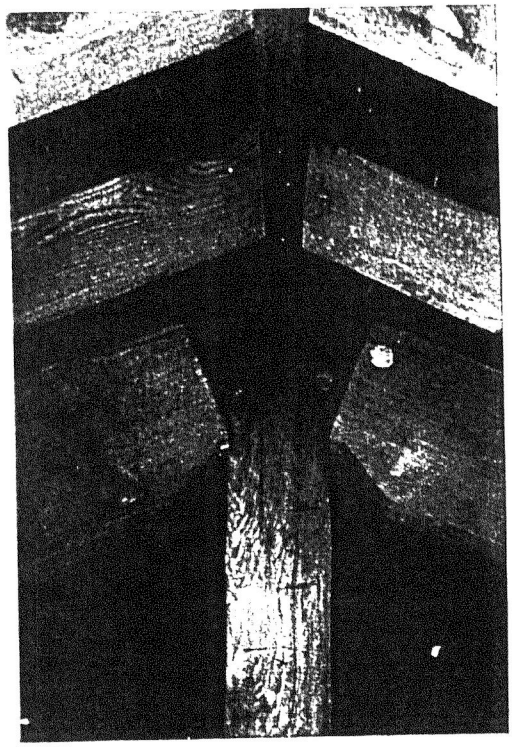

Fig. 23

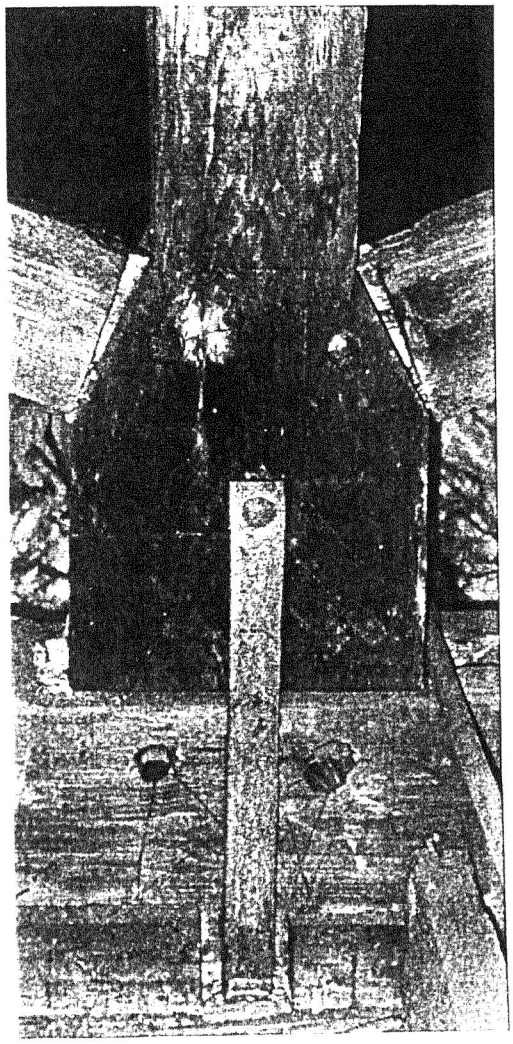

Fig. 24

Michigan Street Baptist Church

HAMILTON
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Appendix A

January 9, 1997

APPENDIX F: FOIT-ALBERT DRAWINGS

The following Contract Documents for the NYS EPF rehabilitation project were prepared by Foit-Albert Architects of Buffalo in 2007. The scope of work, approved by the NYS Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, included primarily masonry repair and repointing, window replacement, and new aluminum gutters and downspouts. Work was publicly bid and Rodems Construction Co, Inc. of Orchard Park, New York was awarded the contract for construction.

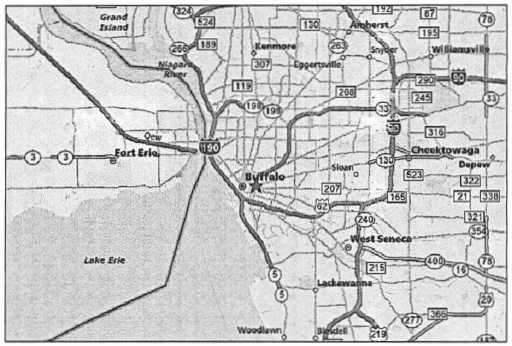
Under the EPF project additional roof and truss stabilization was completed as the attic trusses were continuing to spread and causing further deflection of the roof. This work included the installation of straps at the base of the truss, stabilization of the base post of the truss, and additional steel plating on the truss. The deteriorated masonry facade was repaired and repointed included the use of helical anchors to stabilize the damaged and bulging brick wall. Our thanks are extended to Gwen Howard of Foit-Albert for her assistance and cooperation during the preparation of this Historic Structure Report.

FA Project No. 05007

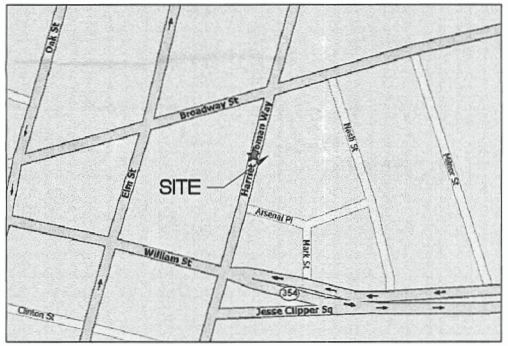
MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH

511 Michigan Avenue
Buffalo, New York

CONSTRUCTION DOCUMENTS
May 18, 2007



Area Map



Location Map

DRAWING INDEX

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

A100	BASEMENT DEMOLITION AND FLOOR PLANS
A101	FIRST FLOOR DEMOLITION AND FLOOR PLANS
A200	ROOF DEMOLITION PLAN AND ROOF PLAN
A300	WEST AND SOUTH EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS
A301	EAST AND NORTH EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS
A500	WINDOW TYPES, NOTES, ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION AND DETAILS
A501	WINDOW DETAILS

REFERNCE AND MATERIALS SYMBOLS

DETAIL/DRAWING IDENTIFICATION — DETAIL/DRAWING NUMBER; SHEET NO. SHOWN ON

BUILDING/WALL SECTION IDENTIFICATION — SECTION LETTER; SHEET NO. SHOWN ON

EXTERIOR ELEVATION IDENTIFICATION — ELEVATION NUMBER; SHEET NO. SHOWN ON

WINDOW IDENTIFICATION — WINDOW TYPE - SEE SHEET A500

MATERIALS IDENTIFICATION

- ASPHALT SHINGLE
- BRICK
- LIMESTONE
- TIMBER

STANDARD ABBREVIATIONS

@	AT
A.F.F.	ABOVE FINISHED FLOOR
AB	ANCHOR BOLT
ADJ.	ADJUSTABLE
ALT.	ALTERNATE
ALUM.	ALUMINUM
APPROX.	APPROXIMATE
ARCH'L	ARCHITECTURAL
BLK.	BLOCK (ING)
BD.	BOARD
BRG	BEARING
B.S.	BOTH SIDES
B.W.	BOTH WAYS
BOT.	BOTTOM
BLDG.	BUILDING
CPT.	CARPET
C.I.P.	CAST-IN-PLACE CONCRETE
CLG.	CEILING
C.L., ℄	CENTER LINE
CL.	CLEAR
CMU	CONCRETE MASONRY UNIT
COL.	COLUMN
CONC.	CONCRETE
CONN	CONNECTION
CONT.	CONTINUOUS
C.J.	CONTROL JOINT
C.T.	CERAMIC TILE
D.F.	DRINKING FOUNTAIN
DIA, ϕ	DIAMETER
DIM.	DIMENSION
D.L.	DEAD LOAD
DN	DOWN
DRY.	DRYER
D.S.	DOWN SPOUT
DWG.	DRAWING
EF	EACH FACE
E.J.	EXPANSION JOINT
EL.	ELEVATION
ELEV.	ELEVATOR
ENCL.	ENCLOSE (URE)
EP	ELECTRIC PANEL
EQ	EQUAL
EQUIP.	EQUIPMENT
E.W.	EACH WAY
EXIST.	EXISTING
EXP.	EXPANSION
EXT.	EXTERIOR
F.D.	FLOOR DRAIN
FDN.	FOUNDATION
FE	FIRE EXTINGUISHER
FEC	FIRE EXTINGUISHER CABINET
F.F.	FINISHED FLOOR
F.F.E.	FINISHED FLOOR ELEVATION
F.G.	FINISHED GRADE
FIN.	FINISH (ED)
FT.	FOOT, FEET
FTG.	FOOTING
GA.	GAUGE
GALV.	GALVANIZED
GC	GENERAL CONTRACTOR
G.S.F.	GROSS SQUARE FEET
GYP. BD.	GYPSUM BOARD
HORIZ	HORIZONTAL
HT.	HEIGHT
HM.	HOLLOW METAL
IN.	INCH
INSUL.	INSULATE (D), (ION)
I.D.	INSIDE DIAMETER
INV.	INVERT
JAN. CL.	JANITOR'S CLOSET
JT.	JOINT
L.L.V.	LONG LEG VERTICAL
LF	LINEAL FEET
LT. WT.	LIGHT WEIGHT
L.L.	LIVE LOAD
L.L.H.	LONG LEG HORIZONTAL
MACH.	MACHINE
MAS	MASONRY
MAX.	MAXIMUM
MECH.	MECHANICAL
MFCTR.	MANUFACTURER
MIN.	MINIMUM
M.O.	MASONRY OPENING
MEP	MECHANICAL, ELECTRICAL + PLUMBING
MR	MOISTURE RESISTANT
N.I.C.	NOT IN CONTRACT
NO.	NUMBER
NOM.	NOMINAL
N.T.S.	NOT TO SCALE
O.C.	ON CENTER (S)
O.D.	OUTER DIAMETER
O.H.	OPPOSITE HAND
OPP.	OPPOSITE
PART. BD.	PARTICLE BOARD
PL. ℄	PLATE (STRUCTURAL)
PL. ℄	PROPERTY LINE (CIVIL)
P. LAM.	PLASTIC LAMINATE
P.L.F.	POUNDS PER LINEAL FOOT
PLYWD.	PLYWOOD
PREFAB.	PREFABRICATE (D)
P.S.F.	POUNDS PER SQUARE FOOT
P.S.I.	POUNDS PER SQUARE INCH
P.T.	PRESSURE-TREATED
R	RADIUS
RD	ROOF DRAIN
REINF.	REINFORCED (D), (ING), (MENT)
REQ'D	REQUIRED
REV.	REVISION (S), REVISED
RM	ROOM
R.O.	ROUGH OPENING
RTU	ROOF TOP UNIT
RWL	RAIN WATER LEADER
SECT	SECTION
SF	SQUARE FEET
S.H.	SINGLE-HUNG
SHT	SHEET
SIM	SIMILAR
SL.	SNOW LOAD
S.O.G.	SLAB-ON-GRADE
SPEC	SPECIFICATION
SQ.	SQUARE
SS	STAINLESS STEEL
STL.	STEEL
STO.	STORAGE
SUSP.	SUSPENDED
T	TOP
T&G	TONGUE & GROOVE
TC	TOP OF CURB
TEMP	TEMPORARY
T.L.T.	TOILET
T.O.S.	TOP OF STEEL
T.O.W.	TOP OF WALL
TS	TUBE STEEL
TYP.	TYPICAL
T/W	TOP OF WALL (STRUCTURAL)
UL	UNDERWRITER'S LABORATORIES
U.N.O.	UNLESS NOTED OTHERWISE
UTIL	UTILITIES
VERT.	VERTICAL
VEST.	VESTIBULE
w/	WITH
WASH.	WASHER
WD.	WOOD
W.W.F.	WELDED WIRE FABRIC
V.B.	VAPOR BARRIER
V.C.T.	VINYL COMPOSITION TILE
VERT.	VERTICAL
V.I.F.	VERIFY IN FIELD

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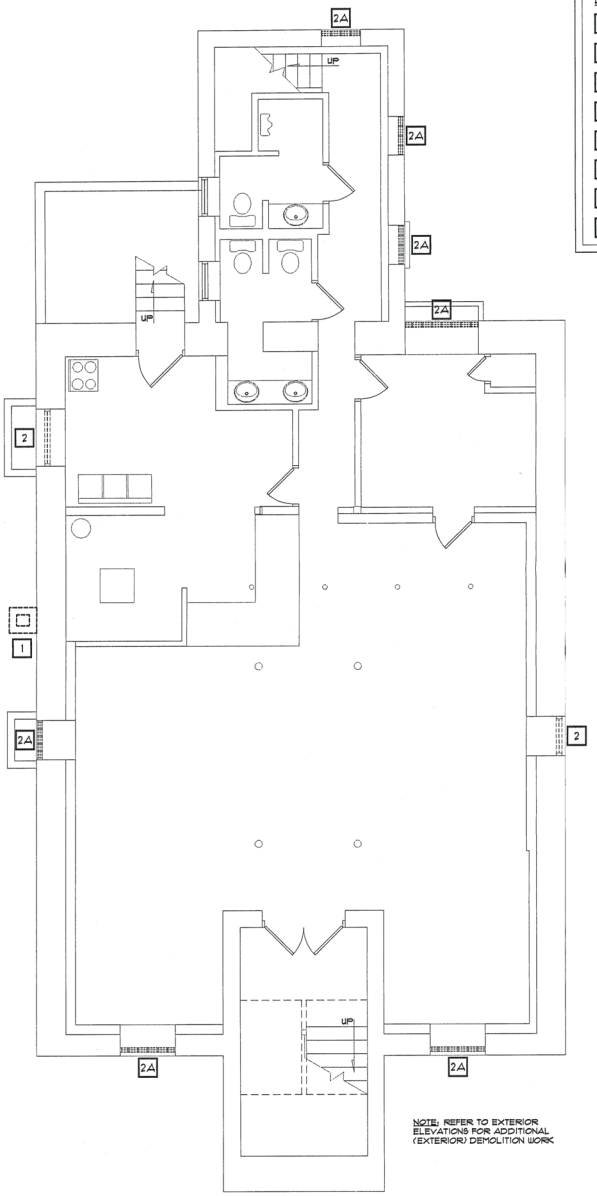
DEMOLITION NOTES

1. REMOVE EXISTING BRICK CHIMNEY IN ITS ENTIRETY. SALVAGE & CLEAN BRICK FOR RE-USE ELSEWHERE. PROVIDE (TEMPORARY) METAL B-VENT.
2. REMOVE EXISTING WINDOW & FRAME.
2A. REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY.
2B. REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY & FRAME.
3. REMOVE EXISTING CONCRETE WINDOW SILL.
4. REMOVE (3) EXISTING CONCRETE STAIR TREADS/RISERS.
5. REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT(S).
5A. REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM DOWNSPOUT.



NOTE: REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL (EXTERIOR) DEMOLITION WORK

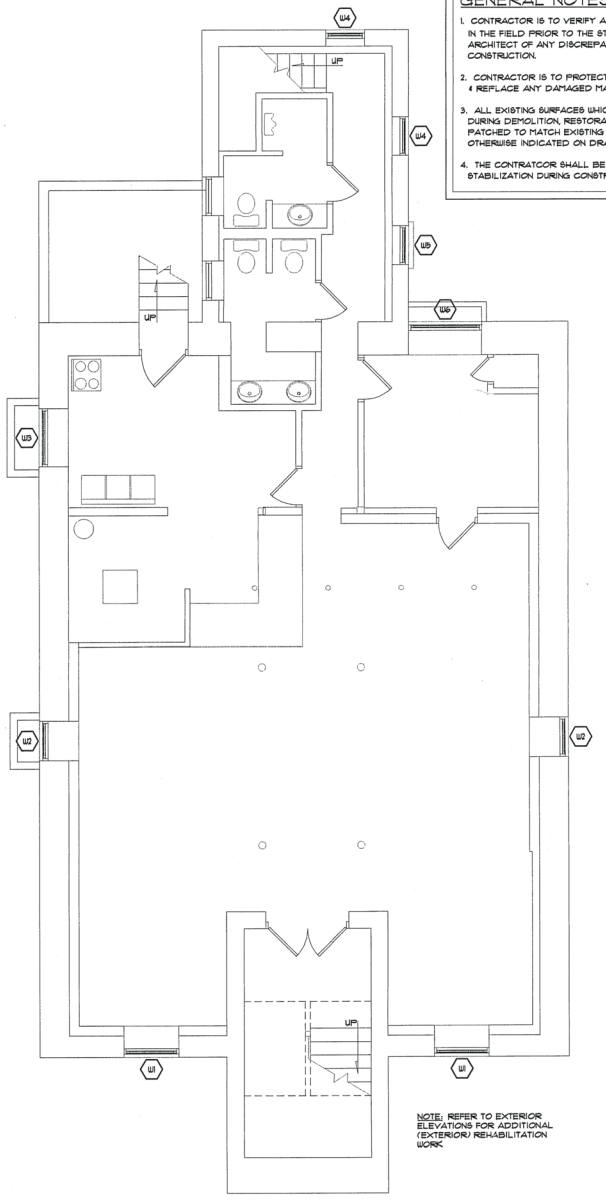
BASEMENT DEMOLITION PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"

1 A100

PLAN NORTH

GENERAL NOTES

1. CONTRACTOR IS TO VERIFY ALL DIMENSIONS & EXISTING CONDITIONS IN THE FIELD PRIOR TO THE START OF NEW CONSTRUCTION & NOTIFY ARCHITECT OF ANY DISCREPANCIES PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.
2. CONTRACTOR IS TO PROTECT ALL NEW WORK DURING CONSTRUCTION & REPLACE ANY DAMAGED MATERIAL IN KIND.
3. ALL EXISTING SURFACES WHICH HAVE BEEN DISTURBED OR DAMAGED DURING DEMOLITION, RESTORATION OR NEW CONSTRUCTION ARE TO BE PATCHED TO MATCH EXISTING CONSTRUCTION AND FINISHES UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED ON DRAWINGS.
4. THE CONTRATCOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR STRUCTURAL STABILIZATION DURING CONSTRUCTION.



NOTE: REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL (EXTERIOR) REHABILITATION WORK

BASEMENT FLOOR PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"

2 A100

PLAN NORTH

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BASEMENT DEMOLITION AND FLOOR PLANS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
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Scale: AS NOTED

Date:	Project Manager:
5/15/07	RAO
Drawn By:	Checked By:
WEL	GAH

Project: 05007
File Name: 05007-A100

Sheet: A100

DEMOLITION NOTES

1	REMOVE EXISTING BRICK CHIMNEY IN ITS ENTIRETY. SALVAGE & CLEAN BRICK FOR RE-USE ELSEWHERE. PROVIDE (TEMPORARY) METAL B-VENT.
2	REMOVE EXISTING WINDOW & FRAME.
2A	REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY.
2B	REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY & FRAME.
3	REMOVE EXISTING CONCRETE WINDOW SILL.
4	REMOVE (3) EXISTING CONCRETE STAIR TREADS/RISERS.
5	REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT(S).
5A	REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM DOWNSPOUT.

GENERAL NOTES

1. CONTRACTOR IS TO VERIFY ALL DIMENSIONS & EXISTING CONDITIONS IN THE FIELD PRIOR TO THE START OF NEW CONSTRUCTION & NOTIFY ARCHITECT OF ANY DISCREPANCIES PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.
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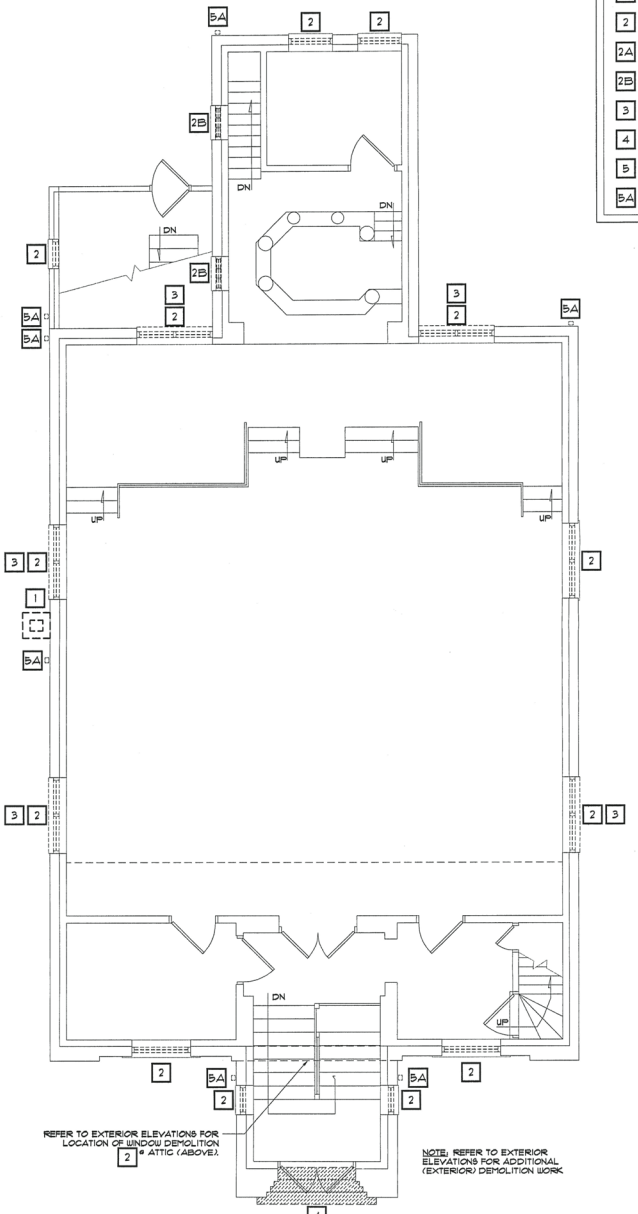
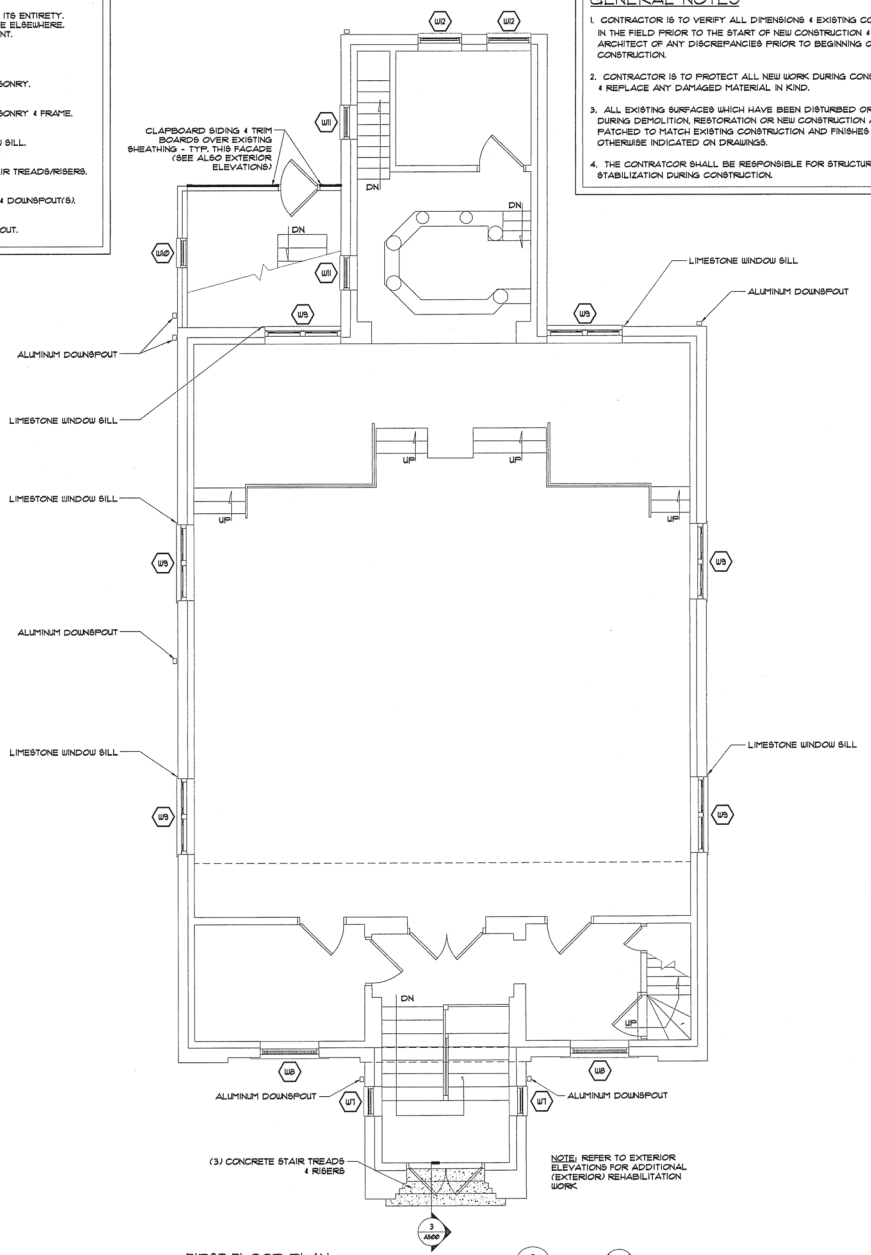
3. ALL EXISTING SURFACES WHICH HAVE BEEN DISTURBED OR DAMAGED DURING DEMOLITION, RESTORATION OR NEW CONSTRUCTION ARE TO BE PATCHED TO MATCH EXISTING CONSTRUCTION AND FINISHES UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED ON DRAWINGS.
4. THE CONTRATCOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR STRUCTURAL STABILIZATION DURING CONSTRUCTION.



FIRST FLOOR DEMOLITION PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"
1 / A101
PLAN NORTH



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"
2 / A101
PLAN NORTH

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FIRST FLOOR DEMOLITION AND FLOOR PLANS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION
511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
1	
2	
3	
4	

Scale: AS NOTED

Date: 9/18/07	Project Manager: RAD
Drawn By: WEL	Checked By: GAH

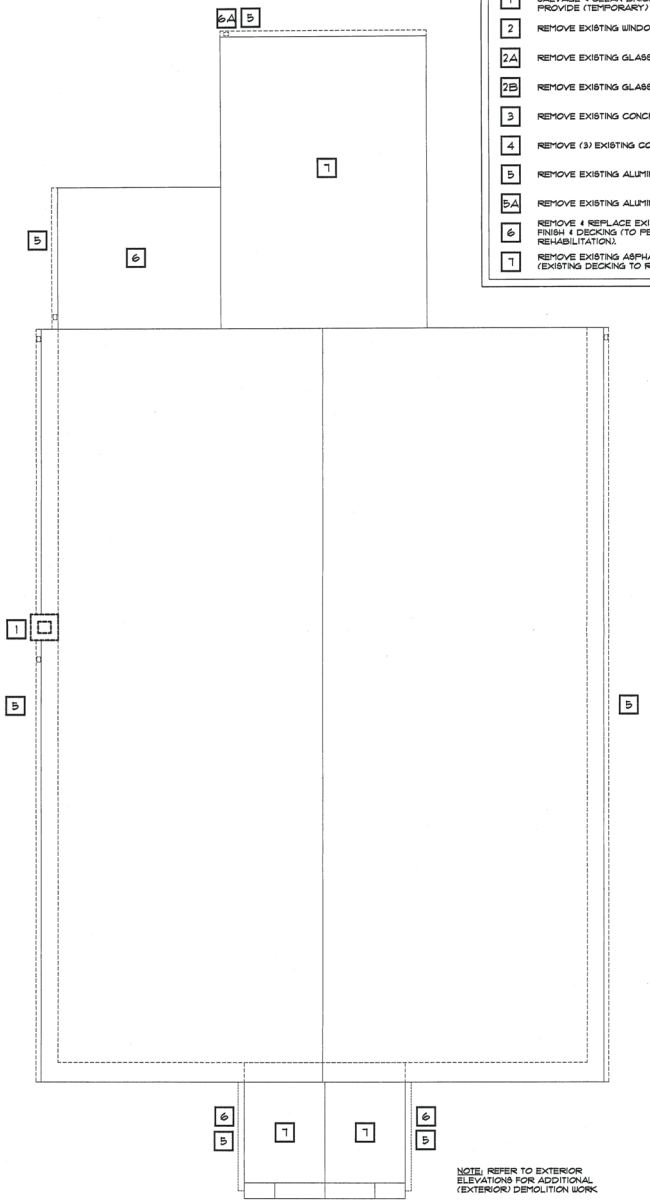
Project: 05007
File Name: 05007-A101
Sheet: A101

DEMOLITION NOTES

1. REMOVE EXISTING BRICK CHIMNEY IN ITS ENTIRETY. SALVAGE & CLEAN BRICK FOR RE-USE ELSEWHERE. PROVIDE (TEMPORARY) METAL B-VENT.
2. REMOVE EXISTING WINDOW & FRAME.
2A. REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY.
2B. REMOVE EXISTING GLASS BLOCK MASONRY & FRAME.
3. REMOVE EXISTING CONCRETE WINDOW SILL.
4. REMOVE (3) EXISTING CONCRETE STAIR TREADS/RISERS.
5. REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT(S).
5A. REMOVE EXISTING ALUMINUM DOWNSPOUT.
6. REMOVE & REPLACE EXISTING ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF FINISH & DECKING (TO PERFORM ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION).
7. REMOVE EXISTING ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOFING MATERIAL (EXISTING DECKING TO REMAIN).

GENERAL NOTES

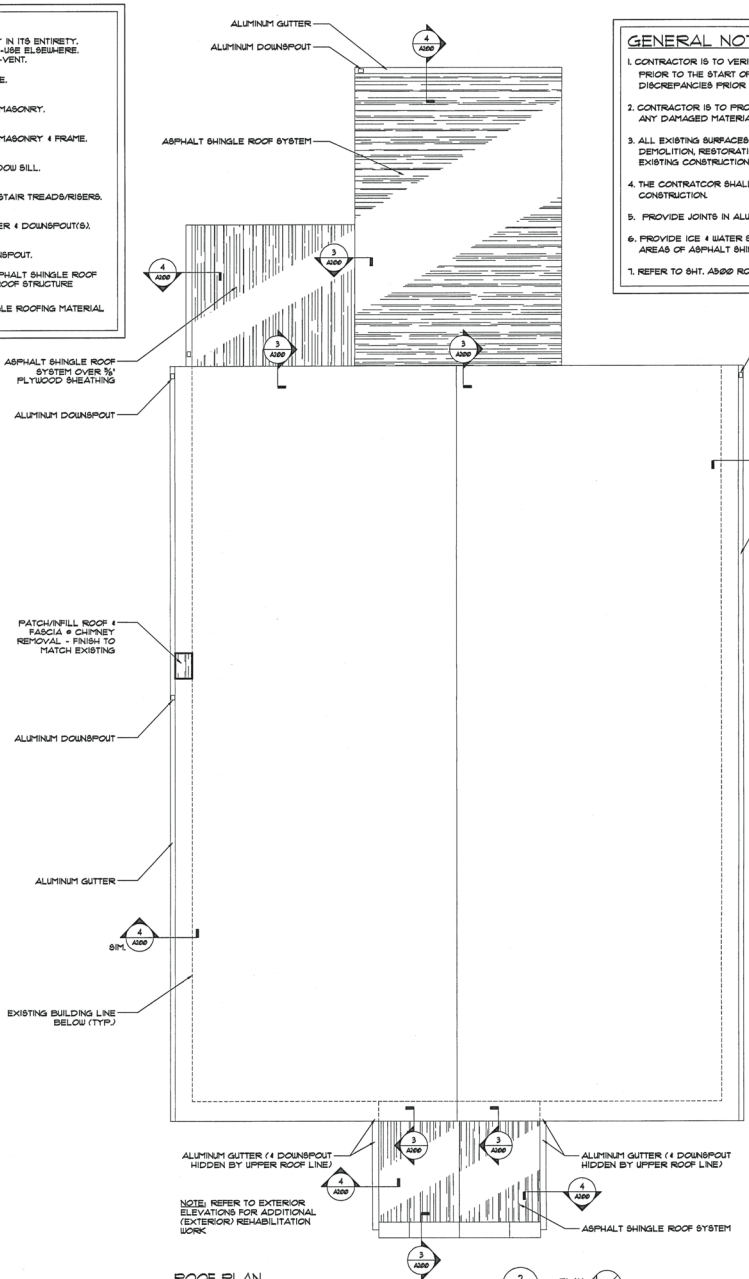
1. CONTRACTOR IS TO VERIFY ALL DIMENSIONS & EXISTING CONDITIONS IN THE FIELD PRIOR TO THE START OF NEW CONSTRUCTION & NOTIFY ARCHITECT OF ANY DISCREPANCIES PRIOR TO BEGINNING OF CONSTRUCTION.
2. CONTRACTOR IS TO PROTECT ALL NEW WORK DURING CONSTRUCTION & REPLACE ANY DAMAGED MATERIAL IN KIND.
3. ALL EXISTING SURFACES WHICH HAVE BEEN DISTURBED OR DAMAGED DURING DEMOLITION, RESTORATION OR NEW CONSTRUCTION ARE TO BE PATCHED TO MATCH EXISTING CONSTRUCTION AND FINISHES UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED ON DRAWINGS.
4. THE CONTRATCOR SHALL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR STRUCTURAL STABILIZATION DURING CONSTRUCTION.
5. PROVIDE JOINTS IN ALUMINUM GUTTERS @ 50'-0" MAXIMUM SPACINGS.
6. PROVIDE ICE & WATER SHIELD TO 3'-0" IN FROM INSIDE FACE OF EXTERIOR WALL @ AREAS OF ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM WORK.
7. REFER TO SHT. A500 FOR ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION DETAILS.



NOTE: REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL (EXTERIOR) DEMOLITION WORK

ROOF DEMOLITION PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"
1 A200

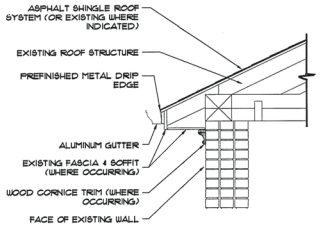
PLAN NORTH



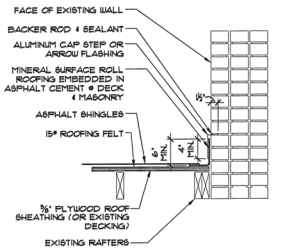
NOTE: REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL (EXTERIOR) REHABILITATION WORK

ROOF PLAN
1/4" = 1'-0"
2 A200

PLAN NORTH


ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM (OR EXISTING WHERE INDICATED)
EXISTING ROOF STRUCTURE
PREFINISHED METAL DRIP EDGE
ALUMINUM GUTTER
EXISTING FASCIA & SOFFIT (WHERE OCCURRING)
WOOD CORNICE TRIM (WHERE OCCURRING)
FACE OF EXISTING WALL

ROOF EDGE DETAIL
1" = 1'-0"
4 A200


FACE OF EXISTING WALL
BACKER ROD & SEALANT
ALUMINUM CAP STEP OR ARROW FLASHING
MINERAL SURFACE ROLL ROOFING EMBEDDED IN ASPHALT CEMENT @ DECK & MASONRY
ASPHALT SHINGLES
15# ROOFING FELT
6" MIN.
4" MIN.
½" PLYWOOD ROOF SHEATHING (OR EXISTING DECKING)
EXISTING RAFTERS

CAP FLASHING DETAIL
1" = 1'-0"
3 A200

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ROOF DEMOLITION PLAN AND ROOF PLAN

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
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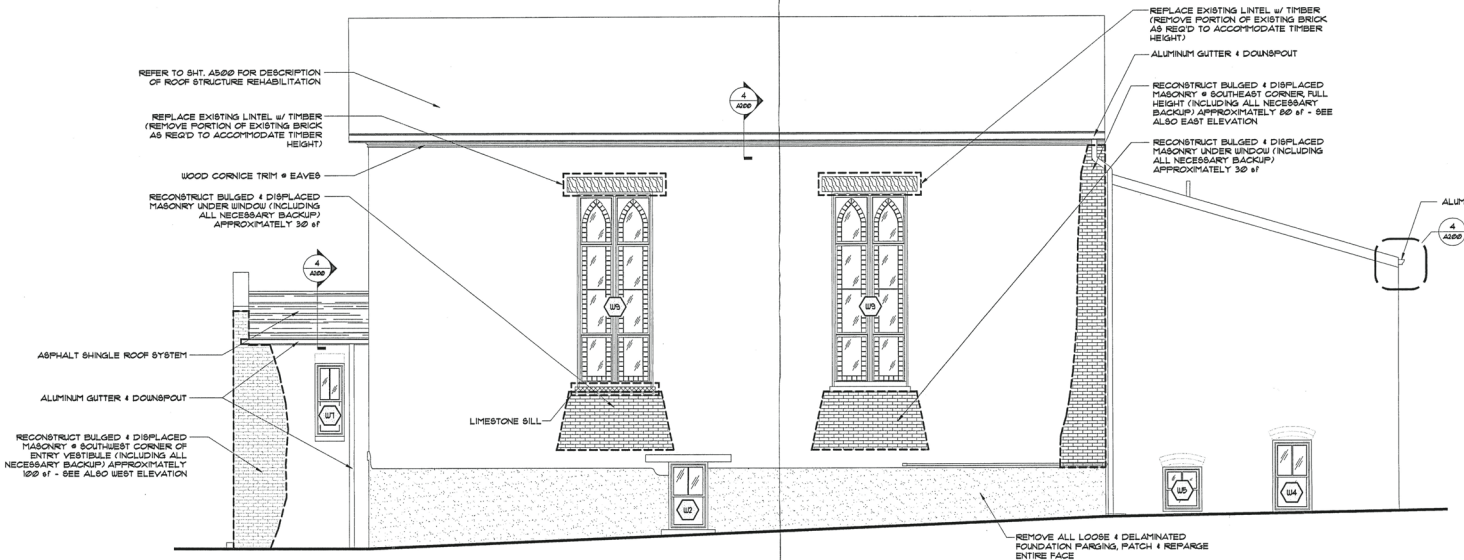
Drawn By:	Checked By:
WEL	GAH

Project: 05007
File Name: 05007-A200

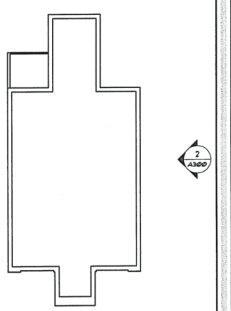
Sheet: A200

REFER TO SHT. A500 FOR DESCRIPTION OF ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
4 A500
WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY @ NORTHWEST CORNER OF ENTRY VESTIBULE (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 100 sf - SEE ALSO NORTH ELEVATION
REFURBISH EXISTING PAIR WOOD ENTRY DOOR, FRAME & TRANSOM
LIMESTONE LINTEL
REMOVE ALL LOOSE & DELAMINATED FOUNDATION PARGING, PATCH & REPARGE ENTIRE FACE
REMOVE EXISTING PLYWOOD PANEL @ OPENING IN ATTIC. REPLACE w/ HISTORIC FABRIC WINDOW V.I.F.
ALUMINUM GUTTER
HISTORIC WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES - MATCH & MITER TO EXISTING TRIM @ WEST GABLE
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY @ SOUTHWEST CORNER OF ENTRY VESTIBULE (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 100 sf - SEE ALSO SOUTH ELEVATION
LIMESTONE LINTEL
REMOVE ALL LOOSE & DELAMINATED FOUNDATION PARGING, PATCH & REPARGE ENTIRE FACE
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH 1845
W1
W2
W3
3 A500
(3) CONCRETE STAIR TREADS & RISERS

WEST ELEVATION
1/4" = 1'-0"
1 A300


REFER TO SHT. A500 FOR DESCRIPTION OF ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION
REPLACE EXISTING LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY UNDER WINDOW (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 30 sf
4 A500
ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY @ SOUTHWEST CORNER OF ENTRY VESTIBULE (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 100 sf - SEE ALSO WEST ELEVATION
LIMESTONE SILL
REPLACE EXISTING LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY @ SOUTHEAST CORNER, FULL HEIGHT (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 80 sf - SEE ALSO EAST ELEVATION
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED MASONRY UNDER WINDOW (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 30 sf
ALUMINUM GUTTER
4 A500 O.H.
REMOVE ALL LOOSE & DELAMINATED FOUNDATION PARGING, PATCH & REPARGE ENTIRE FACE
W1
W2
W3
W4
W5

SOUTH ELEVATION
1/4" = 1'-0"
2 A300



KEY PLAN
N.T.S.

PLAN NORTH

GENERAL NOTES

1. FURNISH & INSTALL HELICAL RESTORATION ANCHORS EVERY 24" O.C. TO ENSURE EXTERIOR WYTHE OF MASONRY IS TIED BACK TO ALL REMAINING WYTHES (APPROXIMATELY 1000 LOCATIONS).
2. REPOINT ALL REMAINING MASONRY NOT OTHERWISE INDICATED FOR RECONSTRUCTION ON ELEVATIONS AS REQ'D (APPROXIMATELY 50%).
3. REMOVE & REPLACE APPROXIMATELY 400 INDIVIDUAL SPALLED AND/OR DAMAGED BRICK UNITS @ VARIOUS LOCATIONS ON ALL FACADES.
4. PROVIDE SECURITY SCREENS @ EXTERIOR OF ALL BASEMENT WINDOWS (NOT SHOWN FOR CLARITY ON ELEVATIONS).
5. EXISTING WOOD EAVE TRIM REMAINS IN ATTIC. REMILL ALL TRIM TO MATCH EXISTING.

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WEST AND SOUTH EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

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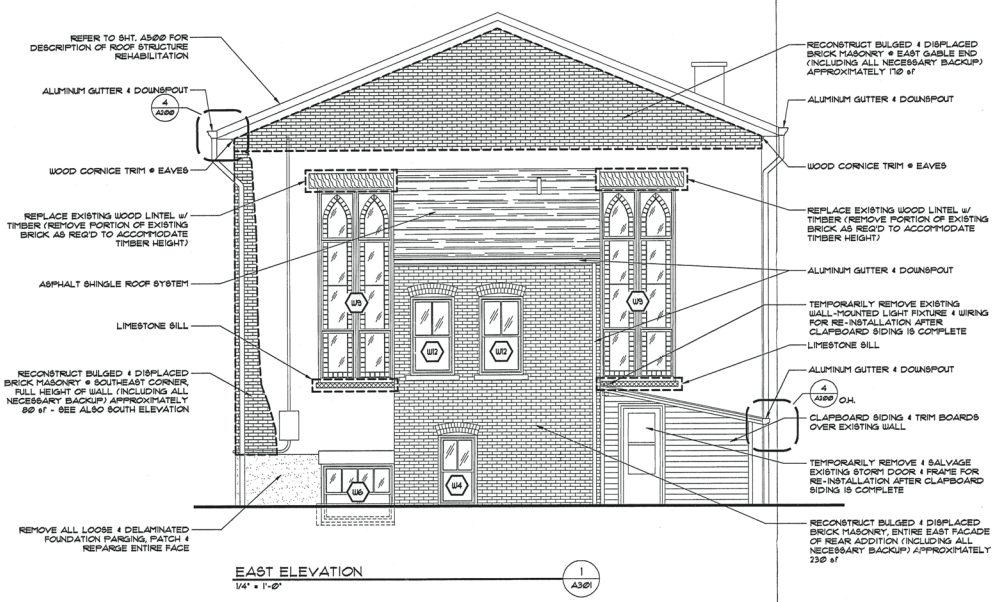
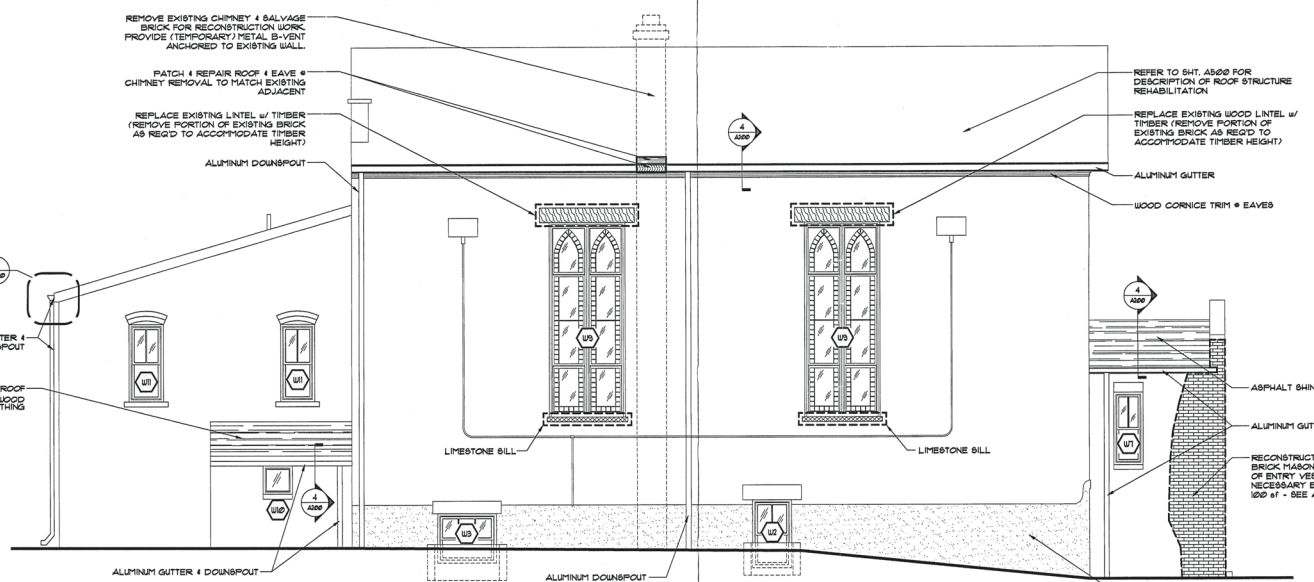
File Name: 05007-A300

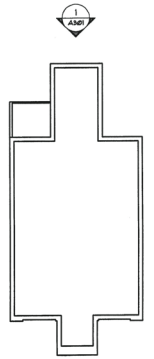
Sheet: A300


REFER TO SHT. A5Ø0 FOR DESCRIPTION OF ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
4 A3Ø0
WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES
REPLACE EXISTING WOOD LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM
LIMESTONE SILL
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED BRICK MASONRY @ SOUTHEAST CORNER, FULL HEIGHT OF WALL (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 8Ø sf - SEE ALSO SOUTH ELEVATION
REMOVE ALL LOOSE & DELAMINATED FOUNDATION PARGING, PATCH & REPARGE ENTIRE FACE
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED BRICK MASONRY @ EAST GABLE END (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 17Ø sf
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES
REPLACE EXISTING WOOD LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
TEMPORARILY REMOVE EXISTING WALL-MOUNTED LIGHT FIXTURE & WIRING FOR RE-INSTALLATION AFTER CLAPBOARD SIDING IS COMPLETE
LIMESTONE SILL
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
4 A3Ø0 O.H.
CLAPBOARD SIDING & TRIM BOARDS OVER EXISTING WALL
TEMPORARILY REMOVE & SALVAGE EXISTING STORM DOOR & FRAME FOR RE-INSTALLATION AFTER CLAPBOARD SIDING IS COMPLETE
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED BRICK MASONRY, ENTIRE EAST FACADE OF REAR ADDITION (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 23Ø sf
W5
W12
W6
W4

EAST ELEVATION
1/4" = 1'-Ø"
1 A3Ø1


REMOVE EXISTING CHIMNEY & SALVAGE BRICK FOR RECONSTRUCTION WORK. PROVIDE (TEMPORARY) METAL B-VENT ANCHORED TO EXISTING WALL.
PATCH & REPAIR ROOF & EAVE @ CHIMNEY REMOVAL TO MATCH EXISTING ADJACENT
REPLACE EXISTING LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
ALUMINUM DOWNSPOUT
4 A3Ø0
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM OVER ⅝" PLYWOOD SHEATHING
4 A3Ø0
4 A3Ø0
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
ALUMINUM DOWNSPOUT
REFER TO SHT. A5Ø0 FOR DESCRIPTION OF ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION
REPLACE EXISTING WOOD LINTEL w/ TIMBER (REMOVE PORTION OF EXISTING BRICK AS REQ'D TO ACCOMMODATE TIMBER HEIGHT)
ALUMINUM GUTTER
WOOD CORNICE TRIM @ EAVES
4 A3Ø0
ASPHALT SHINGLE ROOF SYSTEM
ALUMINUM GUTTER & DOWNSPOUT
RECONSTRUCT BULGED & DISPLACED BRICK MASONRY @ NORTHWEST CORNER OF ENTRY VESTIBULE (INCLUDING ALL NECESSARY BACKUP) APPROXIMATELY 1Ø sf - SEE ALSO WEST ELEVATION
2 A3Ø1
LIMESTONE SILL
LIMESTONE SILL
REMOVE ALL LOOSE & DELAMINATED FOUNDATION PARGING, PATCH & REPARGE ENTIRE FACE
W11
W11
W10
W5
W5
W1
W3
W2

NORTH ELEVATION
1/4" = 1'-Ø"
2 A3Ø1



KEY PLAN
N.T.S.

GENERAL NOTES

1. FURNISH & INSTALL HELICAL RESTORATION ANCHORS EVERY 24" O.C. TO ENSURE EXTERIOR WYTHE OF BRICK MASONRY IS TIED BACK TO ALL REMAINING WYTHES (APPROXIMATELY 18ØØ LOCATIONS).
2. REPOINT ALL REMAINING BRICK MASONRY NOT OTHERWISE INDICATED FOR RECONSTRUCTION ON ELEVATIONS AS REQ'D (APPROXIMATELY 5Ø%).
3. REMOVE & REPLACE APPROXIMATELY 4ØØ INDIVIDUAL SPALLED AND/OR DAMAGED BRICK UNITS @ VARIOUS LOCATIONS ON ALL FACADES.
4. PROVIDE SECURITY SCREENS @ EXTERIOR OF ALL BASEMENT WINDOWS (NOT SHOWN FOR CLARITY ON ELEVATIONS).
5. EXISTING WOOD EAVE TRIM REMAINS IN ATTIC. REMILL ALL TRIM TO MATCH EXISTING.

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EAST AND NORTH EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

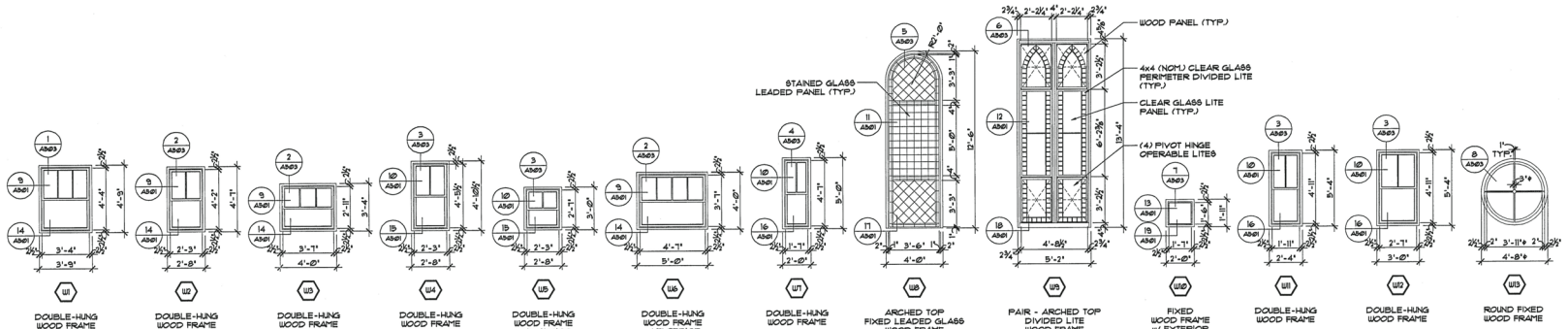
Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
△	
△	
△	
△	

Scale: AS NOTED

Date: 5/18/Ø7	Project Manager: RAO
Drawn By: WEL	Checked By: GAH
Project: 05007	
File Name: 05007-A3Ø1	

Sheet: A301

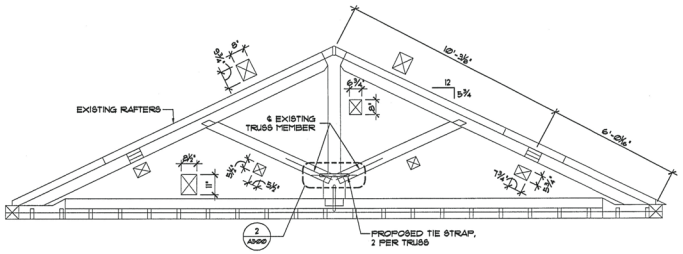

STAINED GLASS LEADED PANEL (TYP.)
WOOD PANEL (TYP.)
4x4 (NOM.) CLEAR GLASS PERIMETER DIVIDED LITE (TYP.)
CLEAR GLASS LITE PANEL (TYP.)
(4) PIVOT HINGE OPERABLE LITES
W1 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W2 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W3 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W4 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W5 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W6 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W7 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME
W8 ARCHED TOP FIXED LEADED GLASS WOOD FRAME
W9 PAIR - ARCHED TOP DIVIDED LITE WOOD FRAME w/ (4) OPERABLE PANELS
W10 FIXED WOOD FRAME w/ EXTERIOR SECURITY SCREEN
W11 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME
W12 DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD FRAME
W13 ROUND FIXED WOOD FRAME

WINDOW TYPES

SCALE: ¼" = 1'-0"

NOTES

1. REFER TO FLOOR PLANS & ELEVATION SHEETS FOR LOCATIONS OF WINDOW TYPES.
2. FIELD VERIFY ALL OPENINGS.
3. ALL WINDOW UNITS TO RECEIVE 1" INSULATED LOW-E GLAZING UNLESS NOTED OTHERWISE.
4. W9 REPLICATED FROM EXISTING WINDOW OPENINGS IN HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS.
5. W8 & W13 REPLICATED FROM EXISTING WINDOWS IN SITU OR ON SITE. REUSE ALL EXISTING COLORED GLASS FOR W8 WINDOWS.

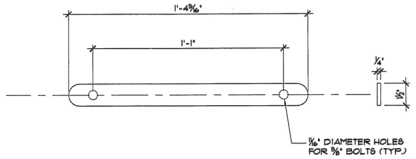


NOTES:

1. REMOVE WEDGES FROM JOINTS AT TIE LOCATIONS PRIOR TO FITTING REPAIRS. DO NOT REINSTALL.
2. POSITION TIE STRAP AS INDICATED AND DRILL THROUGH TRUSS MEMBER STRAIGHT AND TRUE TO ACCEPT ⅝" DIAMETER BOLT OR THREADED ROD.
3. INSTALL TIE STRAPS IN PAIRS, INSTALL WASHERS AND NUTS. TIGHTEN TO A SNUG FIT ONLY. DO NOT OVERTIGHTEN AND CRUSH WOOD FIBERS.

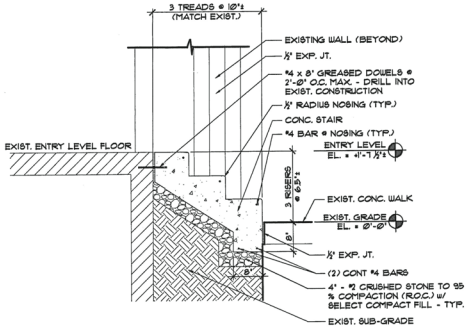
ROOF TRUSS REHABILITATION - ELEVATION (1 / A5ØØ)

3/8" = 1'-0"



TIE-STRAP DETAIL (2 / A5ØØ)

3" = 1'-0"


3 TREADS @ 10"± (MATCH EXIST.)
EXISTING WALL (BEYOND)
½" EXP. JT.
#4 x 8' GREASED DOWELS @ 2'-0" O.C. MAX. - DRILL INTO EXIST. CONSTRUCTION
½" RADIUS NOSING (TYP.)
CONC. STAIR
#4 BAR @ NOSING (TYP.)
EXIST. ENTRY LEVEL FLOOR
ENTRY LEVEL EL. = 41'-1 7/8"±
3 RISERS @ 6 5/8"±
EXIST. CONC. WALK
EXIST. GRADE EL. = 40'-0"±
½" EXP. JT.
(2) CONT #4 BARS
4" - ¾" CRUSHED STONE TO 95% COMPACTION (ROD.) w/ SELECT COMPACT FILL - TYP.
EXIST. SUB-GRADE

NOTES: - PROVIDE BROOM FINISH LENGTHWISE ALONG ALL TREADS.
- PROVIDE ½" RADIUS @ OPEN TOP EDGES OF LOWEST TREAD .

CONCRETE STAIR DETAIL (3 / A5ØØ)

3/4" = 1'-0"

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WINDOW TYPES, NOTES AND ROOF STRUCTURE REHABILITATION AND DETAILS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
△	
△	
△	
△	

Scale: AS NOTED

Date: 5/18/07 | Project Manager: RAO
Drawn By: WEL | Checked By: GAH
Project: 05007
File Name: 05007-A500
Sheet: A500

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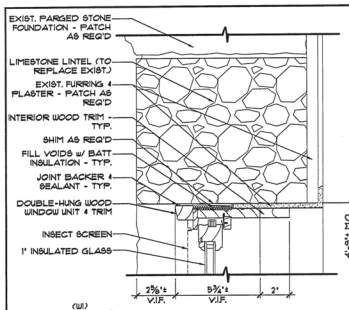
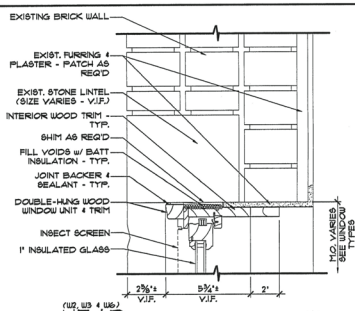

EXIST. PARGED STONE FOUNDATION - PATCH AS REQ'D
LIMESTONE LINTEL (TO REPLACE EXIST.)
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INSECT SCREEN
1" INSULATED GLASS
4'-9½" M.O. V.I.F.
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

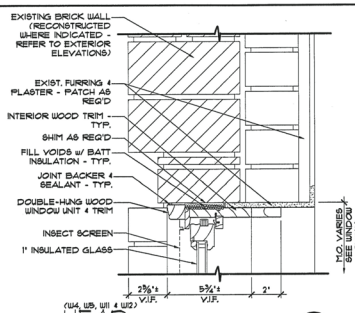
1 A501


EXISTING BRICK WALL
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
EXIST. STONE LINTEL (SIZE VARIES - V.I.F.)
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INSECT SCREEN
1" INSULATED GLASS
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W2, W3 & W6) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

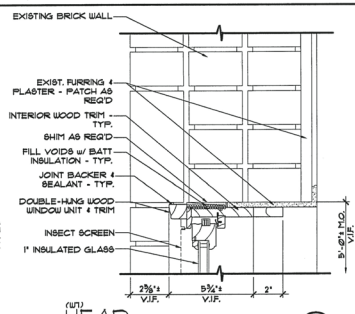
2 A501


EXISTING BRICK WALL (RECONSTRUCTED WHERE INDICATED - REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS)
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INSECT SCREEN
1" INSULATED GLASS
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W4, W5, W1 & W12) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

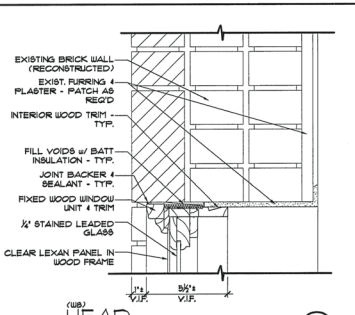
3 A501



(W7) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

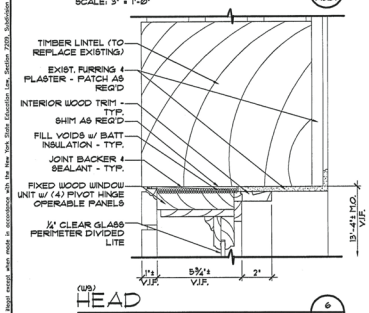
4 A501


EXISTING BRICK WALL (RECONSTRUCTED)
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
¼" STAINED LEADED GLASS
CLEAR LEXAN PANEL IN WOOD FRAME
1"± V.I.F.
5½"± V.I.F.

(W8) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

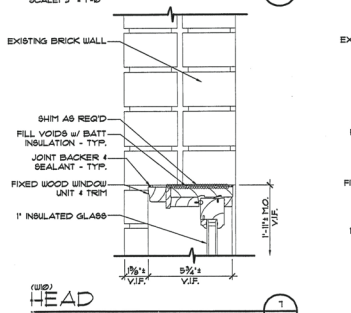
5 A501


TIMBER LINTEL (TO REPLACE EXISTING)
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT w/ (4) PIVOT HINGE OPERABLE PANELS
¼" CLEAR GLASS PERIMETER DIVIDED LITE
13'-4½" M.O. V.I.F.
1"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W9) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

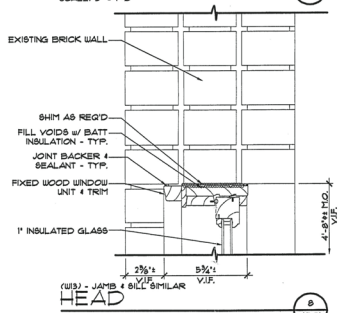
6 A501



(W10) HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

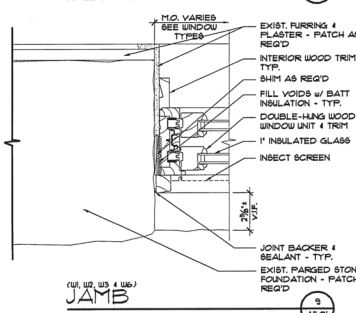
7 A501



(W13) - JAMB & SILL SIMILAR HEAD

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

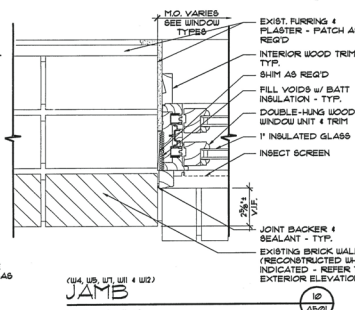
8 A501


M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
1" INSULATED GLASS
INSECT SCREEN
2⅜"± V.I.F.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
EXIST. PARGED STONE FOUNDATION - PATCH AS REQ'D

(W1, W2, W3 & W6) JAMB

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

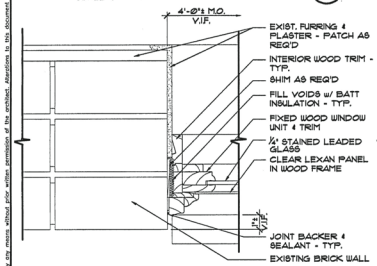
9 A501


M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
1" INSULATED GLASS
INSECT SCREEN
2⅜"± V.I.F.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
EXISTING BRICK WALL (RECONSTRUCTED WHERE INDICATED - REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS)

(W4, W5, W7, W11 & W12) JAMB

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

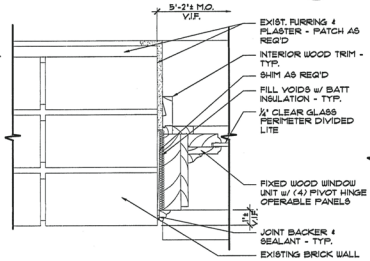
10 A501


4'-0"± M.O. V.I.F.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
¼" STAINED LEADED GLASS
CLEAR LEXAN PANEL IN WOOD FRAME
1"± V.I.F.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
EXISTING BRICK WALL

(W8) JAMB

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

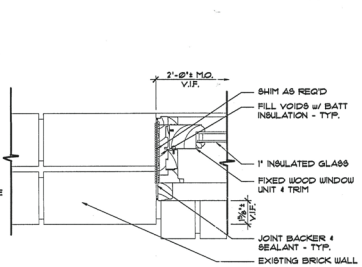
11 A501


5'-2"± M.O. V.I.F.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
¼" CLEAR GLASS PERIMETER DIVIDED LITE
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT w/ (4) PIVOT HINGE OPERABLE PANELS
1"± V.I.F.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
EXISTING BRICK WALL

(W9) JAMB

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

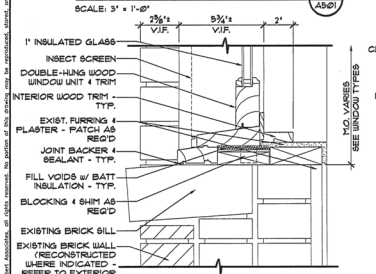
12 A501


2'-0"± M.O. V.I.F.
SHIM AS REQ'D
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
1" INSULATED GLASS
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
1"± V.I.F.
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
EXISTING BRICK WALL

(W10) JAMB

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

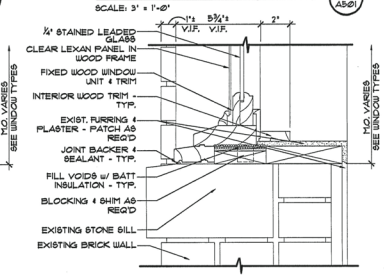
13 A501


1" INSULATED GLASS
INSECT SCREEN
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
BLOCKING & SHIM AS REQ'D
EXISTING BRICK SILL
EXISTING BRICK WALL (RECONSTRUCTED WHERE INDICATED - REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS)
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W1, W11 & W12) SILL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

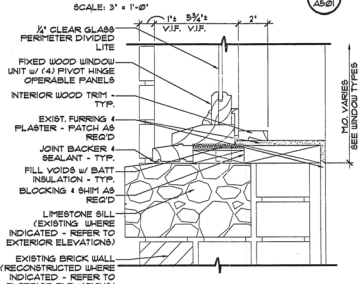
16 A501


¼" STAINED LEADED GLASS
CLEAR LEXAN PANEL IN WOOD FRAME
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
BLOCKING & SHIM AS REQ'D
EXISTING STONE SILL
EXISTING BRICK WALL
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
1"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W3) SILL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

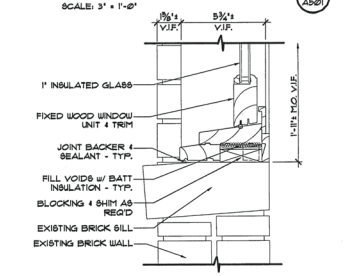
17 A501


¼" CLEAR GLASS PERIMETER DIVIDED LITE
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT w/ (4) PIVOT HINGE OPERABLE PANELS
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
BLOCKING & SHIM AS REQ'D
LIMESTONE SILL (EXISTING WHERE INDICATED - REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS)
EXISTING BRICK WALL (RECONSTRUCTED WHERE INDICATED - REFER TO EXTERIOR ELEVATIONS)
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W5) SILL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

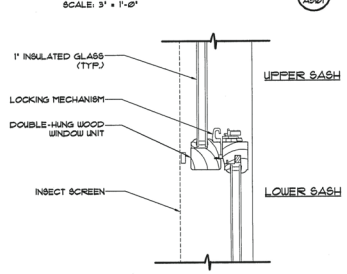
18 A501


1" INSULATED GLASS
FIXED WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
BLOCKING & SHIM AS REQ'D
EXISTING BRICK SILL
EXISTING BRICK WALL
1⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
1'-11½" M.O. V.I.F.

(W11 & W12) SILL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

14 A501


1" INSULATED GLASS
INSECT SCREEN
DOUBLE-HUNG WOOD WINDOW UNIT & TRIM
INTERIOR WOOD TRIM - TYP.
EXIST. FURRING & PLASTER - PATCH AS REQ'D
JOINT BACKER & SEALANT - TYP.
FILL VOIDS w/ BATT INSULATION - TYP.
BLOCKING & SHIM AS REQ'D
EXIST. CONCRETE FOUNDATION WALL
M.O. VARIES SEE WINDOW TYPES
2⅜"± V.I.F.
5¾"± V.I.F.
2"

(W4 & W5) SILL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

15 A501

(TYPICAL @ DOUBLE-HUNG) CHECKRAIL

SCALE: 3" = 1'-0"

20 A501

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WINDOW DETAILS

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
EXTERIOR AND STRUCTURAL REHABILITATION

511 MICHIGAN AVENUE
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Seal:

Revision Number	Revision Date
△	
△	
△	
△	

Scale: AS NOTED

Date: 5/18/07 | Project Manager: RAO

Drawn By: WEL | Checked By: GAH

Project: 05007

File Name: 05007-A501

Sheet: A501

APPENDIX G: RECORD OF FUTURE WORK

The following "Work Repair & Maintenance Log" form is provided as a starting point for the stewards of the historic Michigan Street Baptist Church as they move forward with developing a Maintenance Plan for the facility. We highly recommend that a loose-leaf, three-hole binder be kept with this form as an active and ongoing documentation tool for all future work at the church. This document would be actively maintained with current photographs of various issues to be addressed.

WORK REPAIR & MAINTENANCE LOG: Michigan Street Baptist Church / Buffalo, NY

Date: _____ **By:** _____ **Page** _____ **of** _____

Location: _____ **Room Name:** _____ **Room No.:** _____

Item: _____

Issue: _____

Recommended Action: Urgent ☐ Routine ☐ Repair ☐ Maintenance ☐ Housekeeping ☐

Maintenance Required?:

Follow-up Required?:

Professional Required?:

Contractor Required?:

Historic Review Req'd?:

Action Taken:

Attach Photographs:

Date: _____ **By:** _____ **Page** _____ **of** _____

Additional Information:

APPENDIX H: DATABASES

The following five Microsoft Excel databases have been prepared as supplemental material in support of the Historic Structure Report for the Michigan Street Baptist Church. Historian and researcher Tanya Warren prepared the databases as sub-consultant to Historical New York Research Associates in consultation with Crawford and Stearns, Architects and Preservation Planners, Syracuse, New York.

Appendix H.1	Michigan Street Neighborhood / Buffalo, New York Excepted from 1850 and 1860 Census Data
Appendix H.2	Membership Affiliations through 1870 Michigan Street Baptist Church - Membership Data
Appendix H.3	Michigan Street Baptist Church Information Excepted from Buffalo Baptist Association's Annual Reports c. 1840 - 1926
Appendix H.4	List of Ministers at Michigan Street Baptist Church Excepted from "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church, 1836-1908" By Mary Talbert, From Buffalo Baptist Association & Buffalo History Center
Appendix H.5	Underground Railroad Incidents from Primary Sources Buffalo, New York

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1860	27	31	**Bass**	Smith	B	33	Kentucky	Barber	$35-pers.	Lived at Goodell St. near Michigan St. in 1860. Barbershop at 33 Seneca.
1860	27	31	**Bass**	Amanda	B	30	Kentucky			
1860	27	31	**Bass**	Emma	B	8	Ohio	In school		
1850	373	541	**Carter**	William	B	34	Virginia	Cook		
1850	373	541	**Carter**	Matilda	B	26	Virginia			
1850	352	517	**Coy**	Emeline	B	25	Virginia			Illit.
1860	211	225	**Fields**	Emma	B	61	Canada	Washer woman	RE-$300 Pers-$150	Living at 9 Williams (not in directory but by census placement) In 1861 directory, she lives at 75 Oak St. Very possibly the widow of Henry Fields, listed in the "African American Activists in Buffalo, NY" 1838 (http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf
1860	211	225	**Fields**	Mary	B	35	Canada			
1860	211	225	**Fields**	Elizabeth	B	29	Michigan			
1860	211	225	**Fields**	Martha	B	24	New York			
1850	352	517	**Harris**	Frances	Mu	11	New York			Dau. of Peyton Harris. In school
1850	353	518	**Harris**	Peyton	Mu	56	Virginia	Clothes cleaner		Illit.
1850	353	518	**Harris**	Alla	Mu	51	Virginia			Illit.
1850	353	519	**Harris**	Anna	Mu	18	Virginia			Dau. of Peyton Harris.
1850	370	538	**Jones**	Nimrod	Mu	30	Virginia	Waiter	$300-RE	House at Michigan near Williams (1851 directory)
1850	370	538	**Jones**	Rosa	Mu	27	Virginia			
1860	27	31	**Leturna**	Sarah	W	17	New York			
1850	372	540	**Lines**	Augustus	W	23	Connecticut	Cabinet maker		Wife, 1 baby daughter
1850	356	522	**Metzger**	George	W	50	Pennsylvania	Keeps livery		Wife, 1 dau.
1850	375	543	**Miller**	Thomas	W	55	New York	Poormaster		Wife Catherine, no children
1850	356	522	**Norris**	Patrick	U	15	Unknown	None		Could be Af-Am?
1860	195	207	**Peck**	William	?	50	China	Cook	RE-$1000 Pers-$100	House at 34 William (1860 directory)
1860	195	207	**Peck**	Lettice	Mu	38	Rhode Island	Washer woman		
1860	195	207	**Peck**	Elnora	Mu	3	New York			
1860	195	207	**Peck**	William	Mu	22	New York			
1860	195	207	**Peck**	Georgina	Mu	20	Maryland			
1860	195	207	**Peck**	Victoria	Mu	1	New York			
1850	352	517	**Phillips**	Mary	Mu	4	New York			Dau. of Richard Phillips
1850	353	519	**Phillips**	Richard	Mu	39	Virginia	Cook		Illit.
1850	353	519	**Phillips**	Carolina	Mu	32	Virginia			
1850	353	519	**Phillips**	Thomas	Mu	8	New York			In school
1850	353	519	**Phillips**	Thaddeus	Mu	6	New York			In school
1850	353	519	**Phillips**	Adelaide	Mu	2	New York			

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1850	352	517	**Qualls**	William	Mu	40	Virginia	Barber		Illit. House at Michigan near Batavia (1851 directory)
1850	352	517	**Qualls**	Adelaide	Mu	27	Virginia			dau. of Peyton Harris
1850	352	517	**Qualls**	Elizabeth	Mu	18	Virginia			
1850	351	516	**Reichert**	Jacob	W	31	Germany	Bookbinder	$4,000	Incl. wife & 1 child.
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Timothy	B	42	Virginia	Laborer		Illit.
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Mary A.	B	42	Ohio			Illit.
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Georgianna	B	18	Ohio			
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Sarah	B	12	Virginia			In school
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Jonathan	B	10	Virginia			In school
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	William	B	7	Ohio			In school
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	Emma J.	B	4	New York			In school
1850	345	510	**Tospot**	William H.	B	9 mo.	New York			
1850	374	542	**Underwood**	Jordon	Mu	25	Ohio	Barber		
1850	374	542	**Underwood**	Mary	Mu	23	North Carolina			
1850	374	542	**Underwood**	Edward	Mu	8 mo.	New York			
1850	374	542	**Washington**	Caroline	Mu	30	New York		$1,500	House at William near Michigan (1851 directory) She is not listed in this directory, but son James is and he is in the same house acc. to census as shown.
1850	374	542	**Washington**	Mary E.	Mu	11	Ohio			In school
1850	374	542	**Washington**	William	Mu	7	New York			In school
1850	374	542	**Washington**	George	Mu	5	New York			In school
1850	374	542	**Washington**	Edward	Mu	4	New York			
1850	374	542	**Washington**	James	B	36	Virginia	Cook		Illit. House at William near Michigan (1851 directory)
1850	355	521	**Wens**	James	W	34	Germany	Lumber dealer	$9,980	With wife, 3 children and boarder-all white
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Edward	B	34	Pennsylvania	Cook	$200-pers.	House at 7 Williams (1860 directory)
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Sarah	B	30	New York			
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Henry	B	8	New York			
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Mary	B	5	New York			
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Charles	B	2	New York			
1860	210	224	**Williams**	Ferdinand	B	25	Pennsylvania	Waiter		
1850	354	520	**Wilson**	C. A.	W	48	Connecticut		$800	Widow w/ 9 children ages 6-22
										List begins in the Jefferson near William area
1850	346-350				W			Blacksmiths, Mason, Hatter		One family from Vermont; Four from Germany
1850	357-371	523-539			W		England, NY, Germany, Ireland, etc	Cartman, sign maker, 2 masons		No African Americans in this stretch
										End of appearance of African Americans in this cluster around the MSBC. There are other Af-Am families in the 4th ward, incl. Wm. Storum etc. but they are many pages apart from these entries.
1860	242	257	**Adams**	Ennals	B	35	Maryland	Preacher	$200	Listed at 383 Michigan St. in 1860 Directory
1860	242	257	**Adams**	Amelia	B	28	Pennsylvania			

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1860	242	257	**Adams**	Hannah	B	5	Pennsylvania			
1860	242	257	**Adams**	Stephen	B	2	Connecticut			
1860	242	257	**Adams**	Mary	B	6 mo	New York			
1860	494	675	**Baldwin**	Eliza	W	50	New Hampshire	Nurse/ Midwife	$2500-RE	436 Michigan St., (1860 directory). Lives with the Henry Dorer (white coppersmith) family in their 2-family home.
1860	245	260	**Bates**	Lavina	W	47	Pennsylvania	Washer Woman	$500 in RE, $25 in pers.	In 1870, Lavina Bates is running a boarding house in Ward #3. No Af-Am's listed with her.
1860	215	228	**Butler**	William	B	15	New York			In school
1860	486	667	**Carter**	Washington	B	45	Virginia	White washer	$100 pers.	446 Michigan St. (1862 directory)
1860	486	667	**Carter**	Elizabeth	B	42	Pennsylvania			
1860	486	667	**Carter**	Edward	B	11	New York			
1860	487	668	**Caster**	John	W	49	Germany	Clothes Dyer	$100 pers.	Includes his large family
1860	215	228	**Cleara**	Julia	B	7	New York			In school
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Edward	B	42	Maryland	Barber	RE-$2000 Pers-$300	House at Potter near William (1860 directory). Died 3/3/1906; buries Forest Lawn O-62. "Edward Cook, a former slave, came to Buffalo from Baltimore and established himself as a barber by trade. This profession brought him in contact with the likes of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and many other notable men of the times. His barber shop became the meeting place for the heavy hitters of Buffalo during this time, such as Rumsey, Cary, Alberger and Dr. Lord. Mr. Cook was considered a wealth of information about the Buffalo community." *African American History Of Forest Lawn Cemetery via www.monroefordham.org*
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Phebe Lansing	B	40	Fort Plain, NY			Part Mohawk? (see http://www.afrigeneas.com/forumc/index.cgi/md/read/id/27270)
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Henry	B	14	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Ellen	B	12	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Emma	B	10	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Joseph	B	8	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Anna	B	4	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Francis	B	2	New York			
1860	227	241	**Cook**	Elizabeth	B	2 mo	New York			
1860	215	228	**Cooper**	Robert	B	23	New York	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1860	215	228	**Countee**	**Nelson**	B	45	Virginia	Cooper	RE-$300 Pers-$100	Nelson Countee was a member of the Canadian African Meth Epis Church (Queensbush Conf.) in 1846-1848. (http://docsouth.unc.edu/church/handy/handy.html). Nelson Countee "entered Canada in the 1840's & entered the AME ministry in 1844…also involved in fugitive relief (at St. Catherine's)." (Harriet Tubman: Freedom Seeker, Freedom Leader By Rosemary Sadlier, p. 97) Returned to Canada, involved in missionary work for fugitives and Temperance cause (1873: The Temperance Record)
1860	215	228	**Countee**	William (Francis)	B	16	Canada			Dies in Saginaw MI in 1912
1860	**243**	**258**	**Coy**	Emeline	B	35	Virginia	Washer Woman	$500	Living in one side of Peyton Harris double house next to MSBC. Likely a daughter of Peyton Harris.
1860	243	258	**Coy**	Sarah	B	30	Virginia	Seamstress		Likely a daughter of Peyton Harris.
1860	227	241	**Dover**	Orlando	B	9	New York			
1860	243	258	**Eaton**	Richard	B	25	North Carolina	Barber		Not listed in 1860 directory-poss. UGRR family
1860	243	258	**Eaton**	Margaret	B	20	North Carolina			
1860	243	259	**Frances**	Harris	B	21	New York			
1860	215	228	**Freeman**	Thomas	B	25	Mass.	Upholsterer		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	485	666	**Germain**	Elizabeth	W	42	England	Washer Woman	$15 pers.	Listed as illit.
1860	485	666	**Germain**	John L.	W	16	New York			In school
1860	485	666	**Germain**	John R.	W	8	New York			In school
1860	246	261	**Guillad**	Henry	W	23	France	Blacksmith	$600 in pers.	Listed as "married within the year".
1860	246	261	**Guillad**	Clara	W	19	New York			Listed as "married within the year".
1860	215	228	**Hall**	John	B	29	Pennsylvania	Shoemaker		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	519	795	**Hall**	William	B	32	New York	Barber	$50 pers.	Present at the 1843 National Convention held in Buffalo
1860	519	795	**Hall**	Elizabeth	W	30	Canada			
1860	518	794	**Holden**	Frank	B	40	Kentucky	Laborer	$100 pers.	Listed as illit. Elm St. near Michigan (1861 directory)
1860	518	794	**Holden**	Mary	B	22	Louisiana			
1860	518	794	**Holden**	Emma	B	17	Canada			
1860	215	228	**Hopkins**	Daniel	B	30	Pennsylvania	Cook		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	494	676	**Hutchinson**	Nancy	W	54	New Hampshire	Nurse/ Midwife	$400-pers.	Lives alone in second unit of Henry Dorer 2-family home.
1860	215	228	**Jackson**	Joshua	B	25	Pennsylvania	Porter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	215	228	**Johnson**	John	B	31	Maryland	Cook		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	215	228	**Johnson**	Charles	B	22	Maryland	Waiter		Illit.
1860	485	664	**Knox**	Harmon	B	30	Pennsylvania	Shoemaker	$40 pers.	This is a 3-family house
1860	485	664	**Knox**	Caroline	B	30	Pennsylvania			
1860	485	664	**Knox**	Janis	B	26	Michigan	Seamstress		Listed as illit.
1860	485	664	**Knox**	James	B	16	Pennsylvania	Sailor		
1860	229	243	**Lloyd**	William	B	30	Maryland	Porter	RE-$900, Pers-$100	House at Potter near William (1860 directory). Illit.

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1860	229	243	**Lloyd**	Jane	B	32	Rhode Island	Washer Woman		
1860	237	252	**Martin**	Henry	B/M	38	Maryland	Cartman	$500 pers.	House is at 9 William St. near Mich. (1860 dir.).
1860	237	252	**Martin**	Frances	B/M	32	Virginia			
1860	237	252	**Martin**	Elizabeth	B/M	15	Canada			
1860	485	665	**McCoy**	Robert	B	65	Maryland	White washer	$20 pers.	452 Michigan St. (1862 Directory)
1860	485	665	**McCoy**	Maria	B	40	Pennsylvania			Listed as insane
1860	485	665	**McCoy**	Mary E.	B	17	Pennsylvania			
1860	485	665	**McCoy**	James H.	B	14	Pennsylvania			In school
1860	485	665	**McCoy**	Joseph A.	B	7	New York			In school
1860	215	228	**McPherson**	John	B	30	Virginia	Cook		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	247	262	**Metzger**	George	W	62	Pennsylvania	Livery Keeper	RE-$5000 Pers$4000	371 Michigan-residence/326 Washington-stable
1860	215	228	**Meyers**	Elizabeth	B	25	Maryland	Seamstress		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	493	674	**Myers**	Charles	B	54	New York	Cook on Steamer		Not found in directory.
1860	493	674	**Myers**	Mary	B	28	Pennsylvania			Listed as illit.
1860	493	674	**Myers**	Mary	B	14	Canada			In school
1860	493	674	**Myers**	Sarah	B	8	Canada			In school
1860	493	674	**Myers**	Josephine	B	6	New York			
1860	215	228	**Norris**	Robert	B	22	Virginia	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	246	261	**Parker**	Julia	B	54	Kentucky	None		
1860	**243**	**259**	**Peyton**	Harris	B	65	Virginia	Clothes cleaner	$500 in RE, $300	Listed as "married within the year".
1860	215	228	**Proctor**	Joseph	B	22	Maryland	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	243	258	**Qualls**	Elizabeth	B	28	Virginia			Daughter of William Qualls
1860	243	259	**Rebecca**	Harris	B	65	Virginia			Listed as "married within the year".
1860	215	228	**Sannett/ Sarrett**	Philander	B	22	New York	Porter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	215	228	**Sannett/ Sarrett**	Edward	B	21	New York	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	242	257	**Schmidt**	Caroline	W	21	Sweden	Servant		
1860	215	228	**Sharp**	John	B	22	New Jersey	None		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	215	228	**Sharp**	Joshua	B	19	New Jersey	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	493	674	**Thomas**	Peter	B	33	New York	Barber	$300-RE	
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Timothy	B	53	Virginia	Boarding house keeper	RE-$800 Pers-$100	11 William St.(1860 dir.) Both parents illiterate
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Mary	B	53	Ohio			
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Georgina	B	38	Ohio			
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Sarah	B	23	Virginia			
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Jonathan	B	20	Virginia			
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	William	B	17	Ohio	Cook		
1860	215	228	**Tospot**	Emma	B	15	New York			In school
1860	493	674	**Van Horn**	John	B	41	New York	Musician	$40 pers.	

MICHIGAN STREET NEIGHBORHOOD • BUFFALO, NEW YORK
1850 AND 1860 CENSUS DATA

Census	House #	Family	Surname	First name	Color	Age	Birthplace	Occupation	Prop. Values	Notes
1860	249	268	**Walker**	Jonas	B	85	Virginia	Peddler	$50 pers.	"under Michigan St. Baptist church" (1860 directory) Not found in other directories or censuses.
1860	249	268	**Walker**	Maria	B	70	Virginia			
1860	493	673	**Wallas**	Isaac	B	22	Pennsylvania	White washer		
1860	215	228	**Washington**	William	B	19	New York	Waiter		11 William St.(1860 dir.)
1860	493	673	**Williams**	Perry D.	B	32	New York	Musician	RE-$1000 Pers-$150	This is a 2-family house. Not found in directory.
1860	493	673	**Williams**	Louisa	B	34	Virginia			
1860	246	261	**Wilson**	Charles	W	16	New York	Clerk		
1860	244									"unoccupied"
1860	248-252	263-267			W					Five German/Prussian families
1860	488-492	669-672			W		Germany			Four German families

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Allman	Jane Elizabeth (Mrs.)		1855-1894		No info.	Member	Born 1844, her obituary states that from her childhood she was a "zealous member" of the Michigan St. Baptist Church in Buffalo. Died 1901 in Perry, NY, after moving there from Buffalo in 1895 to keep house for widower Tho. Burns. (Af-Am) Survived by 1 daughter Mrs. A. H. Armstrong of Buffalo. Jane's father b. in Kentucky (1900 Fed Census)	Wyoming County Times, 22 Aug 1901
Anderson	Rev. Duke William	183 Clinton St.(1855).	1854-1855	1855-58	No	Pastor	Pastor of the MSBC. Son of black woman & white man who fought in the War of 1812. Prominent minister and teacher in Illionois (Wood Rver Assoc.) and intensely involved, acc. to source, in the UGRR there. Advised to preach at the MSBC by Rev. Rich'd Anderson of St. Louis during the 1850's as he thought Buffalo a safer place as it was considered an "anti-slavery stronghold". "Used the pulpit & the press as the vehicled of his invectives against slavery" Elected to cmte. organized on 5 Mar 1857 to prepare a resolution condemning Wm. Cooper for betraying his wife back into slavery. Trustee & VP of the Freedman's Savings & Trust.	1855 Directory via Buffaloresearch.com. Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6. http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/1857.html History of the Negro Race in America, 1619-1880 by Geo. W. Williams, 1883. p. 490.
Bibb	Henry		1849	Spoke in MSBC, 1849	Yes	Speaker	On Tuesday evening, Jan. 9th, (1849) a meeting was held at the 2d Baptist Church , Buffalo , for the purpose of receiving a presentation from the Daughters of Zion. The meeting was called to order by the Rev. Harris Hawkins; after which an address was delivered by Henry Bibb, of Detroit, on the subject of American slavery.	(Source Unknown)
Booker	William	50 Oak St. (1855) Clinton corner of Oak (1857)	1858	Gone from directories by 1858.	no info.	Trustee	Listed as Trustee of the MSBC in 1858. Worked as a white washer (1855)	1855-1858 Buffalo Directories

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Brockenborough	Alexander S.	230 Washington near Swan (1840); 1855 & 1860 Directory-193 East Genesee.	1838, 1843	1840-Alex, wife & 4 sons in Buffalo, Ward #2; 1850-Alexander b. 1810 VA; married Margaret, b. Scotland 1810; 4 sons (one is Silas) and one female age 15 b. Canada named Margaret Bow.	Likely	Delegate	First appears in Buffalo in 1838 (directory)Listed as Trustee of the MSBC in 1858. Delegate in 1843. In 1841, works as a tailor/clothes cleaner on 2 E. Seneca; Spoke at 1841 Buffalo meeting for the purpose of expressing their gratitude for the liberation of the Amistad captives. President of a committee to support subscriptions to *The Colored America in Feb of 1841.* Subscriber to *Frederick Douglass Paper* 1854. One of a Committee of 3 appointed consisting of Rev. Deaton Dorrell, Rev. D.W. Anderson, to prepare a resolution of the expressive of the sentiments of the mass meeting in 1857 following the incident of Wm. Cooper betraying his wife back into slavery. Gave the sermon at the celebration of the passage of the 15th Amend. in 1870. Signed the 1838 petition: "[We] ask where can be found. . . a class of men that have been more subservient to the laws, made a more rapid progress, and [at] less expense to the city then we, the colored citizens of Buffalo?"	1838 Buffalo Directory p. 30; 1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/1857.html; Colored American.A MEETING OF CONGRATULATION. Buffalo, 3/28/1841;Strangers in the Land of Paradise: etc., Buffalo, NY, 1900-1940 by Lillian Serece Williams, 200. p. 17; www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf ; THE COLORED AMERICAN. February 20, 1841 via Acessible Archives; Frederick Douglass Paper, 20 Oct 1854 via Acessible Archives.
Brown	Rev. A. (Abel?)		1841-1843		EurAm	Pastor	Early pastor of the MSBC acc. to Monroe Fordham. Euro/Am Baptist minister who became an ardent Anti-slavery man and UGRR conductor in the 1830-1844 period. Offered prayer at March 18 1841 Amistad event at the church. Died at Canandaigua 1844.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6. Memoir of Rev. Abel Brown Written & pub. by Catharine S. Brown, 1849 via Google Books.
Calluis/Callis	Rev.		1863?		no info.	Pastor	Minister of MSBC "stayed one year". I wonder if this is Henry Jesse Callis who married Nellie Amelia Turner of Geneva, NY in 1897.(ebooks)	Talbert "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" 1908, p.4. http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/arthur-bunyan-caldwell/history-of-the-american-negro-and-his-institutions-volume-6-dla/page-3-history-of-the-american-negro-and-his-institutions-volume-6-dla.shtml
Cezar	Randal		1844	listed as barber, 1850	no info.	Presided at 1844 meeting	Presided over 1844 reorganization meeting.	"Second Baptist Society of Buffalo," Janury 31, 1844, Misc Book 2-6, Erie County Clerk's Office; Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo (Buffalo, New York; Jewett Thomas & Co., 1850), 108.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Cook	William P.		1836		no info.	Trustee	One of first trustees, 1836.	Incorporation papers, 3/28/1836
Coy	Emeline	381 Michigan (1860 Directory)	1842-1905	1850-B. 1825, VA. Living w/ Wm. Quarles family	Likely	Member	Early very active member of the MSBC. Joined in 1842 at age 21. Much of Mary Talbert's "History" was from information provided by her during an interview in 1904. The 1860 Buffalo City directory lists Emeline Coy as a boarding house owner on Michigan St. Instrumental in starting the "Ladies Aid Society" to raise money for the building of the church after Rev. Sharp returned from England empty-handed.	Monroe Fordham, Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church p.7. Talbert, "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" March 1836-1908 via Buffalo & Erie Co. Hist Soc. Collection
Coy	Sarah	381 Michigan (1860 Directory)	1840, 1880	1880-lives at 50 Potter St. w/ her sister Emeline Coy) both b. VA as were their parents), both working as washers in a 2-family headed by Louise McQuin,widow.	Likely	Member	Active member of the MSBC & its new Ladies Aid Society. Provided the bulk of embroidered objects to sell and raise money to finish building church in the 1840's Sister to Emaline Coy. Sisters never married. 1860-living with sister Emeline in boarding house. 1880 Buffalo City Directory- Listed as Sexton of MSBC. Died April 4 1897, funeral at the MSBC.	Talbert-"History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" March 1836-1908 via Buffalo & Erie Co. Hist Soc. Collection; 1860,1880 Buffalo Directory, Google books; Buffalo Express,5 Apr 1897
Dandridge/ Dandrich	John	William St. corner Michigan (1851 Directory). Not found in 1855 Directory	1841-50	1850-living in a 2-family with Abner H. Francis as head.(listed as "agent". John listed as waiter, b. in VA 1802. wife Charlotte also b. VA, no children. All marked as "mulatto"	Likely	Trustee	One of first trustees, 1836. Tailor (1840 Buff. Director) Offered prayer at March 18 1841 Amistad event at the church. Agent & member of a committee to support subscriptions to *The Colored American* in Feb of 1841. Involved in July 1849 UGRR activity while helping to find a safe house for a freedom-seeking Brown family entrusted to Rev. Geo. Hosmer. The story teller relates, " I must do Dandridge & the other colored men the justice to say they did their whole duty". Attended the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens" in Buffalo at Union Hall 3 Oct 1850 to discuss the Fugitive Slave Law. Signed 1838 Af-Am petition. (see Carr Johnson entry). Elected trustee at reorganization meeting, 1844.	Incorporation papers, 3/16/1836.Monroe Fordham, Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church, .6. Van Ness: *Afro-Americans in Life & History*, p.96. http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.html. Buffalo Directory 1851; THE COLORED AMERICAN. February 20, 1841via Acessible Archives;"Second Baptist Society of Buffalo," Janury 31, 1844, Misc Book 2-4, Erie County Clerk's Office
Davis	L. K.		1843		no info.	Delegate	Delegate of the MSBC	Minutes of the Baptist Association, 1843

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Davis	Samuel Henry	"Teacher African public school, Mohawk and Market Sts.(1842 Directory)	1842-1848		No	Pastor	Minister & builder of the MSBC. Son of New York Slaves and of mixed white, Native Am. and Af Am blood. Original name Samuel McCarty.(Mull) "Samuel H. Davis had received advanced training in Oberlin College in the ministry and teaching." Ordained in the basement of the new MSBC church. Elected chairman pro tem at the 1843 National Convention of Colored Citizens held in Buffalo and gave the opening address. Became the principal teacher for the African American School in Buffalo from 1842-1844. Following in the footsteps of first MSBC pastor William C. Munroe, Davis left Buffalo in 1848 to be the minister of the 2nd Baptist Chuch in Detroit from 1848 to 1851 at which time he resigned to teach at Chatham, Ontario. Clerk of the 5th Anniversary meeting of the Canadian Anti-Slavery Baptist Association in 1855 and chosen as agent of the American Baptist Free Mission Society.	http://www.buffaloah.com/how/15/15.1/mich.html. The Underground Railroad in Michigan by Carol E. Mull, McFarland Pub., 2010: Monroe Fordham, Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church p.13. http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+life+and+times+of+Samuel+H.+Davis%3A+an+anti+slavery+activist.-a0192404032;Provincial Freeman 1 Dec 1855 via Accessible Archives
Dickers/Dickes	Ralph & Ann (Tibiar 2nd wife)	Walnut near Sycamore (1851 Directory); Jefferson St (1878)	1851-1880	1860- Ralph and wife Ann, son Charles and dau. Anna. 1870- Ralph was born in PA, Tibiar in NY. Owns $1000 in RE. Carpenter/joiner	No	Trustee	1873, 1880 Buffalo City Directory- Listed as Trustee of MSBC. Carpenter (1851). She (Tibiar)died in 1878-her obit. states she was prominent member of MSBC & active in the church's Women's Benevolent Assoc. for many years.	1851 Buffalo Directory; Buffalo Courier, 5 Dec 1878 (double check this source).
Dutton	Rev. Stephen		1842		no info.	Pastor	Early pastor of the MSBC-first church delegate to attend a Buffalo Baptist Assoc. meeting. Former Pastor of the Brooklyn African Methodist Church (1823). Possibly the Stephen Dutton who was an early and dedicated supporter of the Wilburforce Colony along with James C. Brown. Worked as a barber in Canada as well.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; http://archiver.rootsweb.ancestry.com/th/read/NJMONMOU/2001-07/0994916278. *The Journal of Negro History*: "The Wilberforce Settlement in Canada", Vol 10, July 1925 #3, p. 368 via Siebert Collection @ http://www.ohiomemory.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/siebert. (as barber in Canada): Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World, Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie. p. 133 via Google Books.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Fields	Henry	9 Vine St. (1840); 436 Michigan St. (1851 Directory) Not found in 1855 Directory	1840	1850-b. 1805 in VA. Wife Cynthy b. KY	Likely	Trustee	Early trustee & delegate (1843-1849) of the MSBC. Whitewasher (1851); Cook (1840 Directory). Signed the 1838 petition: "[We] ask where can be found. . . a class of men that have been more subservient to the laws, made a more rapid progress, and [at] less expense to the city then we, the colored citizens of Buffalo?" Family is in Hamilton, Canada after 1851(Shadd)	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; 1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf. The Journey from Tollgate to Parkway: African Canadians in Hamilton by Adrienne Shadd, p. 59.
Francis	Abner H.		1836		No	Trustee	One of first trustees, 1836.	Incorporation papers, 3/28/1836
Givens	Green	1842-house at Clinton corner Oak.	1842	1850-Cook, b.1805 in "unknown" & illiterate. Wife Mary b. 1803 in KY; son Gerry/Gevry b. 1843 NY.	Likely	Trustee	One of first trustees. Sexton of the MSBC (2nd Baptist) in 1842. Claims $6000 of Real estate in 1850 census. Note that the next three families/groups in the 1850 census after Green Givins are all black, b. in southern state, Canada or "unknown" w/ children under 5 all born NY.	Incorporation papers, 3/16/1836.1842 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net
Granby/ Gramby	John	5th Ward, Buffalo. Runs boarding house at 383 Michigan St. (1855 Directory)	1855-1880	1860 - 38 yr old, black waiter, b. NY with $200 RE. Wife Emeline, age 38, b. NY. No children. Living at Milnore near William (1860 directory)	Likely	Trustee	1875-1880 Buffalo City Directory- Listed as Trustee of MSBC. Porter at the YMCA 1873. Superintendant of the Sunday school-1880	Directories@http://nyheritage.nnyln.net. Buffalo Courier & Republic, 4 March 1873. Minutes of the Buffalo Baptist Association 1880

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Harris	Peyton	Washington below Huron (1836 Directory) Michigan near Sycamore (1840); 517 Michigan St./379 Mich. (1859). 1860 directory lists Peyton as a "renovator" at 385 Michigan and lists his residence at 379 Michigan.	1836	In 1850. living in the 4th ward of Buffalo, next to Wm. Quarles. Works as clothes cleaner (became a tailor by 1875), b. in VA 1794, illiterate. Wife Alla b. VA 1799, illit. She d. about 1859. He married Rebecca 1860.	Yes	Deacon/ Trustee	Early officer & known as one of the founders of the MSBC. He & Henry Hawkins appear to be the first & only individuals associated with the MSBC living in Buffalo by 1836. (Directory search-TLW) 1840-works as a wood dealer. First church delegate to attend a Buffalo Baptist Assoc. meeting. Uncle of Wm. Talbert, (Anna Harris, Peyton's daughter, married Robert Talbert, Wm's father.) Found the property upon which the MSBC was built & supplied the bricks & morter. Chosen to attend the National Colored Convention held at the Liberty Street Church, Troy, New York, October 9, 1847 and the 1849 Nat. Colored Conv. as a delegate and elected VP. One of Buffalo's largest landowners with parcels valued at $12,000 in the mid-19th Cent. Served in the War of 1812 for a Virginia regiment(1867 art.). Lived to the age of 90. Chairman of mtg. of the three African churches in city after the incident of Wm. Cooper betraying his wife back into slavery. At "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens" in Buffalo at Union Hall 3 Oct 1850 re: Fugitive Slave Law. 1848 - jailed for 321 days as fugitive slave in Wash. D. C. Hosted "Donation Visit" for Rev. J. S. Martin in Nov of 1859. Elected trustee at reorganization meeting, 1844.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6, 13, 14. 1850 Fed. Census. www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=F40A11FE35581B7A93C1A91789D85F468884F9 http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.html Congressional Series 513 1848 p. 451 House of Reps. Buffalo Daily Courier, 10/20/1866; Buffalo Daily Courier 11/28/1859; 1840 Buffalo City Directory at http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; Buffalo Courier & Republic, 4/10/1867; "Second Baptist Society of Buffalo," 1/31/1844, Misc Book 2-4, Erie County Clerk's Office.
Henry	James	1862-14 Swan St.	1855-1873	1860-James is listed as a 31 yr old barber b. in VA (son Sanford & other children list father's bp as Georgia in 1900 census) and mulatto. He has $500 in RE and $300 in personal estate. His wife is Emma, age 27, mulatto, b. in PA. They do not appear in the 1850 census	likely	Trustee	James Henry is listed in the 1855 & 1873 Buffalo directory as a trustee of the MSBC. In an article of June 30, 1939, The 100th Anniversary of the MSBC was attended by his son Judge Edward W. Henry of Phil., PA "a son of charter members". Henry's 4 children (Lewis, 9, Sanford, 8, Clara 6, Anna 5, and James 3) were all b. in NY and 3 are attending school (1860). There are more children born after 1860, but the Henry family is difficult to follow in the censuses. Daughter Minnie Henry Powell living on 54 Potter St. in 1910 census.	Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society archives. Minnie Powell data from Talbert "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" 1908, p.7
Jackson	Henry		1836		no info.	Trustee	One of first trustees, 1836.	MSBC Incorporation papers, 3/28/1836
Jeffrey	Rev.		1840-1841		EurAm	Pastor	European-American, ordained minister.	

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Jeffries	Rev.		1845		no info.	Pastor	Early pastor of the MSBC, Referred to as "a colored preacher from Geneva." Took over leadership upon Sharpe's leaving and stayed for only 6 months.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6. Talbert "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" 1908, p.4.
Johnson	Carr (Can)	Maryland St. west of Niagara St.(1840 & 1855-directory). Lot on 7th St. (1857) Maryland St. near 6th (1860 Directory)	1840	1840 census. 1850-not found; 1860-Ward #9-works as a gardener w/ $2000 of real estate. Born in Maryland in 1800, wife Harriet b. in Virginia. 2 dau.'s b. NY. Possibly runs boarding house.	Likely	Trustee	Early trustee of the MSBC. Signed the 1838 petition: "[We] ask where can be found. . . a class of men that have been more subservient to the laws, made a more rapid progress, and [at] less expense to the city then we, the colored citizens of Buffalo?" Worked as farmer in 1840. Born in 1800 in Maryland, died 1862 in Buffalo, NY. Likely the "Charles" Johnson who participated in the War of 1812 at the seige of Baltimire & was in the parade of 1867 celebrating the 2nd ann. of the end of the Civil War (see Payton Harris). Elected trustee at reorganization meeting, 1844.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; 1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf
Lapins	Mr.				no info.	Member	"labored for several years without pay in both church and Sabbath school"	Mary Talbert: "History of the MSBC, 1836-1908"
Leslie	William H. & family	354 Michigan St., 4th Ward, Buffalo	1850-1868	1850-William, b. VA is a cabinet maker & wife is named Rosanna b. Louisiana. Child Frances b. NY at 10 months old. Not marked as colored 1860-father W. H. a carpenter b. in VA; wife age 40 b. in Louisiana; 4 girls 1 boy all b. in NY. Marked as black.	Likely	Member	Daughter Julia Leslie died 25 Nov 1868 and her funeral was held at the MSBC.	Buffalo Courier & Republic 27 Nov 1868.
Lewis	Rev. Sanders		1847-1848		no info.	Pastor	Pastor of the "colored Baptist church"-could be Washington St church	1847-48 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net
Lewis	Edwin J.		1867		Likely	Trustee	Elected MSB Church clerk, 1867. Trustee 1873	Buffalo Daily Courier, 7 Mar 1867.
London	James H.		1849		no info.	Delegate	Delegate of the MSBC	Minutes of the Baptist Association, 1849

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Malvin	Reuben		1836-37	In 1850, he was seventy years old, b. in PA, living with his thirty-eight-year old wife Diantha and three children. In 1860, he was listed in the census as 105 years old, b. in MD, with his wife Diantha, age 48, and five children, ranging in age from eight to twenty-one.	no info.	Pastor	First pastor/elder, 1836. In 1826, Reuben Malvin was listed in a Brooklyn city directory as a "subordinate preacher of the African Methodist Episcopal Church." This Reuben Malvin may or may not be the same man listed in census records in 1840, 1850, and 1860 as living in Barton, Tioga County, New York.	MSBC Incorporation papers, 3/28/1836; Spooner's Brooklyn Directory, for the year 1826, 1826 (Brooklyn: Alden Spooner, 1826);A Brief History of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1846-1946 (Detroit, Mich., 1946[?]).
Martin	Frankie & family		1858	1860-Likely the family of Henry & Frances Martin, b. MD & VA respt'ly. Daughters Frances (Frankie), & Elizabeth both b. Canada.	Yes	Member	The Rev. J. Sella Martin & Rev. Duke Wm. Anderson walked with the congregation to Lake Eire & baptised 32 congregants, the youngest being Frankie Martin age 15 who later became a school teacher in Wash. D. C.	Talbert "History of the Michigan Street Baptist Church" 1908, p.6. 1910 census for additional info on Frankie Martin.
Martin	Rev. John Sella		1858		Yes	Pastor	Early pastor of the MSBC. John Sella Martin (September 27, 1832 - 1876) was an escaped slave who became a noted abolitionist and a pastor. Article in the Syracuse Daily Journal writes the following: "The Buffalo Express states that the Rev. John Sully Martin, a coloured preacher, who was ordained on Sunday as pastor of the Michigan St. Baptist Church (in Buffalo) was, within about two years, sold on the auction block as a slave in Georgia. Mr. Martin, in the course of his examination (for ordination)bore himself with remarkable ability... it was remarked that but few graduates of out theological schools were better educated in the nature of their duties, than this poor slave". Known as a powerful orator & militant anti-slavery speaker.(Oxford)	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; Syracuse Daily Journal, 24 Apr 1858. http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/u/docsouth?hl=en&q=cache:JNTtexTYlOUJ:http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/brownww/brown.xml+%22j.+sella+martin%22&ct=clnk. www.oxfordaasc.com

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Miller	Rev. David	Michigan below Goodell (1851 Directory)	1846-1851	The only David Miller is a white(not listed as B or M) 33 yr old gardener b. NY with wife & family living in the 4th ward next to the David Butler & Wm. Taylor families, both Af-Am (b. "unknown" and MD respectively)	EurAm	Pastor	Early pastor of the MSBC. Pastor in 1851 (directory) Ordained in the basement of the new church	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6
Mitchell	John		1849-1850		no info	Clerk	Clerk of the MSBC 1849	Minutes of the Buffalo Baptist Assoc 1849
Munroe/Monroe	Rev. William Charles	Michigan near Sycamore (1840 directory)	1836-1840	It is interesting to note that there is no listing for a William Mo(u)nroe in the Buffalo directories of 1836, 1837, 1838 or 1839. His first census entry is 1850 in Detroit he, born in Maryland 1805 with (2nd) wife Mary, b. 1823 b. MI; all listed as mulatto incl. kids: dau Mareaber age 16 b. Maine, Wm, Jr. age 14 b. West Indies, Marilia age 4 b. MI, son Ranchart age 2 b. MI.	likely	Pastor	"Rev. William C. Munroe was the only black founding trustee of Noyes Academy. He is listed as being a resident of Portland, Maine at the time." From 13 March 1835-6 Nov 1837-Munroe was a missionary at Haiti. Became the first pastor of the new MSBC in 1837. Munroe attended the Convention of the Colored Inhabitants of NYS, Albany in 1840 as a delegate.1840 directory lists him as pastor of the "2nd Baptist Church" in Buffalo. "The first faithful band of Michigan Baptist Church commenced their worship in a small wooden building, over an Undertaker's Establishment at the corner of Niagara and Eagle Streets, in 1836. A colored gentleman named William Munroe, had been ordained and was chosen as their minister, occupying all the positions that the name would indicate, preacher, pastor, teacher, janitor and friend, his salary was raised by public subscription--after administering to this little flock for two or three years left them." (Fordham) In 1840-41, Rev. William C. Monroe becomes the first regular pastor of Second Baptist Church of Detroit, MI, the first Church founded by Detroit's African-American community. Fellow MSBC pastor Samuel H. Davis follows him to be their pastor in 1848-1851.Elected President of the 1853 Rochester, NY Convention. (Cromwell) In 1859 he leaves Detroit and "emigrates to Liberia, along with other members of the American Colonization Society"(DAAHP). He dies shortly after arriving.	http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nhchs/Preservation/People/William_C_Munroe.html; Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.5 http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf; 1839-1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+life+and+times+of+Samuel+H.+Davis%3A+an+anti+slavery+activist.-a0192404032; http://www.daahp.wayne.edu/1850_1899.html; "The Early Negro Convention Movement." By John W. Cromwell., Wash., D. C.: 1904.via http://www.gutenberg.org/files/31328/31328-h/31328-h.htm

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Perry	Rufus L.		1861		Yes	Pastor	Minister at MSBC. Stayed one year and went to Brooklyn. "Born a slave in Nashville, Tennessee, where because of the liberal attitude of the whites toward the Negroes, he, in spite of his condition, was permitted to attend a free school for Negroes. He escaped from slavery in 1852 and entered upon the study of theology at the Kalamazoo (Michigan) Seminary, graduating with the class of 1861, when he was ordained as pastor of the Baptist Church at Ann Arbor, Michigan."	Mary Talbert: "History of the MSBC, 1836-1908" Buffalo Baptist Assoc./BECHS (JW). The History of the Negro Church Carter G. Woodson, Ph.D. 2nd Ed. x, 330 p., Wash. D. C. The Associated Publishers 1921(via DocSouth-JW)
Quarles/Qualls/ Quails	William	Michigan near Genesee with firm of *Chew & Qualls*, (1840); House-519 Michigan St. Barber shop-293 Main St. (1851 Directory). Works at American Hotel as barber in 1858 directory & at Western Hotel in 1848.	1840 - ?	1850-Barber, b. in VA in 1810, illiterate. Mulatto as is his wife Adelaide (dau. of Peyton Harris b. VA), dau. Eliz.(b. VA)& 2 children Frances Harris & Mary Phillips. Also w/ them is 25 yr old Emeline Coy, "black" b. VA	Yes	Deacon/ Trustee	Early officer & Deacon of the MSBC-first church delegate to attend a Buffalo Baptist Assoc. meeting. Uncle of Wm. Talbert. Found the property upon which the MSBC was built. He & his son (name?) were involved in July 1849 UGRR activity while helping to find a safe house for a freedom-seeking Brown family entrusted to Rev. Geo. Hosmer."went way over to Quarles on Michigan St...got his son to go to a colored boarding house" (to arrange things). A mulatto agent for the *Colored American*. He (with Harris) organized a meeting of the three African churches in Buffalo following the 1857 incident of Wm Cooper selling his wife back into slavery. Elected VP for the "Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens" in Buffalo at Union/Clinton Hall 3 Oct & 17 Oct 1850 to discuss the Fugitive Slave Law. The 1857 Directory has Wm. Qualls & Tho. Phillips both as barbers working at 314 Main St. Lot owner at Forest Lawn Cem. Of interest is an 1858 Buffalo Directory entry under "Boarding Houses" A. Christian Quell, 428 Michigan St. Signed 1838 petition of Af-Ams (see Carr Johnson entry). Elected trustee at reorganization meeting, 1844. Note : The 1860 directory lists Elizabeth Qualls at 381 Michigan St. (the Coy sisters' boarding house), but William not listed.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6 Van Ness: *Afro-Americans in Life & History*, p.96 ; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf; http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/1857.html ; http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.html; 1848 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; "Second Baptist Society of Buffalo,"Janury 31, 1844, Misc Book 2-4, Erie County Clerk's Office.
Sharp(e)	Rev. John	10 West Swan (1844 directory)	1842-1848		EurAm	Pastor	Spearheaded fundraising for new building. Traveled to England and was himself "an Englishman" so it was hoped he would return with monetary aid. Listed as pastor in 1844 and 1848 directories.	http://www.buffaloah.com/how/15/15.1/mich.html; 1844 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; *John or E. as first name from: Baptist Reporter & Missionary Intelligencer, Vol. 21, May 1847, p. 204 from the Buffalo & Erie Co. Hist Soc collection. Travel to England from: Baptist Reporter & Missionary Intelligencer, Vol 20, dec 1846, p. 502

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Smith	Charles E.	188 Genesee (1847) 121 Genesee St. (1878)	1840-1878	1860-Ward 7; Charles & wife Amelia both born VA, 1809 & 1814 resp'vly; Works as "farmer", owns $4200 of RE & $1800 of personal estate.	Likely	Trustee	The historical sketch by Mary Talbert reported that "the minutes of the 25th anniversary of the [Buffalo Baptist?] association, held in Springville Sept. 9th and 10th 1840, record for the first time the Second Baptist Church with Charles E. Smith as clerk, and a membership of 19. Listed as trustee of the MSBC in 1858. Delegate of the MSBC 1875. His funeral was held at the church June 4 1878. Elected trustee at reorganization meeting, 1844.	Monroe Fordham, Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church; 1858 Buffalo Directory p. 30; Buffalo Courier 3 June 1878. Minutes of the Buffalo Baptist Association 181875; "Second Baptist Society of Buffalo," Janury 31, 1844, Misc Book 2-4, Erie County Clerk's Office.
Smith	Robert		1858-1867	1850-black, living in 4th Ward as joiner, b. VA in 1815. Owns $1500 in RE. Head of house with Henry Williams, (35 yr old cook b. Louisiana) & wife Louisa as house mates. 1860-lives alone works as bank porter.	Likely	Trustee	Listed as trustee of the MSBC in 1858 & 1860; elected church treasurer in Mar of 1867.	1858 & 1860 Buffalo Directory p. 30; Buffalo Courier, 7 Mar 1867;
Steniker	Mr.		1865?	Possibly one of the German families.	no info.	Member	"labored for several years without pay in both church and Sabbath school"	Mary Talbert: "History of the MSBC, 1836-1908"
Steward	Nathan	Shop under 98 Main (1840)	1840-1842	1840-living with wife, no children in 5th Ward.	Likely	Trustee	Early trustee of the MSBC. Offered prayer at March 18 1841 Amistad event at the church. Signed the 1838 petition: "[We] ask where can be found. . . a class of men that have been more subservient to the laws, made a more rapid progress, and [at] less expense to the city then we, the colored citizens of Buffalo?" Gone from Buffalo by 1847.	Monroe Fordham, Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church p.6; 1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://www.monroefordham.org/docs/antebellum%20biographies.pdf
Stewart	George Washington	178 Elm St.	1894		no info.	Member	Funeral at the MSBC. Widely attended by many citizens of all colors. Likely a member before 1870.	Buffalo Express, 2 Apr 1894

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Storum	William & Mary C.	58 Pine St., Buffalo (1861)	1850-1893	1850-Lives in Ward 4. 1860-William works as waiter & has $1200.00 of RE. He was born in New York 1811. Wife Mary age 46, b. VA	No	Trustee	1880 Buffalo City Directory- Listed as Trustee of MSBC. Both active in the MSBC. William is the nephew of Wm. Henry Storum of Busti, NY, the founder of a recognized UGRR station. One of Wm. Henry's (of Busti) daughters, Caroline, married Jermaine Loguen and their daughter Helen Amelia married Lewis Douglass, son of Frederick. WIlliam of Buffalo died at the home of his son James, living next door to Lewis Douglass in the Striver's section of Wash. DC. (in housing built by Fred. Douglass in 1875). The Storum, Douglass & Loguen families interacted and supported one another throughout their lives.	1861 & 1880 Buffalo City Directory; Buffalo Courier & Republic 15 Apr 1870. http://anacostia.si.edu/Plummer/Docs/Plummer_Diary_text.pdf. http://www.freefictionbooks.org/books/t/20387-twentieth-century-negro-literature?start=62
Talbert	Robert	521 Michigan St. (1870) 385 Michigan (1855 Directory	1850-1870	In Buffalo city directories, 1860s-1890s. 1892 census, born in U.S. about 1835.	Likely	Member	One of a committee of persons who organized the 1870 celebration of the passage of the 15th amend. At MSBC & St James Hall. Married Anna Harris, dau. of Peyton Harris.	Buffalo Courier & Republic 15 Apr 1870.
Thomas	James L.	Washington near Perry (1840); 231 E. Genessee (1851& 1855 Directory)	1840, 1860, 1865	1850-4th Ward; Living in a three-family structure with 2 familes all from the south or unknown, with small kids b. NY. James listed as cook w/ $1500 of RE and b. at "unknown" in 1805. 6 yr old dau. b. 1844 in Mich.	Yes	Trustee	Officer/Trustee of MSBC. MASS MEETING OF COLORED CITIZENS of Buffalo, OCTOBER 17, 1850.Pursuant to public notice, a mass meeting of the colored citizens of Buffalo was held at Clinton Hall on Thursday evening, 17th inst., for the purpose of considering in relation to the Fugitive Bill. At an early hour the house was crowded with out citizens, both white and colored. The hour having arrived, on motion, Mr. Nathaniel Dunlap was appointed President, and Messrs. James L. Thomas, William Qualls, and John McLean, Vice Presidents, and George Weir, Secretary. Trustee of the MSBC 1861(directory)	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; 1840 Buffalo City Directory @http://nyheritage.nnyln.net; http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.htm.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Thomas*	Henry K.	18 William St./Barbershop at Niagara Temperance House (1849-1851 Directory)	1850's	1850-4th Ward; b. 1809 in Tennesee, works as barber and owns $300 in RE. Wife Maria b. VA; 3 & 5 yr old girls b. NY. Also w/ them, Mary Birtch,49 (or 19) yrs old, b. KY.	Yes	Trustee	Early officer of the MSBC. The "fugitive brother' of John Thomas Rapier & James Thomas. Escaped 1831 from Nashville to Buffalo. Possibly the barber who assisted a Georgian fugitive & family to the ferry dock during his escape, (VanNess). Left to Buxton,Canada with family in 1851 due to Fug. Slave Law. Appointed one of two convention secretaries at the 1843 National Convention of Colored Citizens held in Buffalo. Elected to the Business Cmte. At the Oct 17 1850 Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens at Clinton Hall re: the Fugitive Slave Law. Barber. List of Henry's real estate and other sources re: his life in Buffalo are listed on pp. 115-116 of Franklin & Schweninger, In Search of the Promised Land: A Slave Family in the Old South (Oxford, 2005).	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6, 13. Cynthia Van Ness: *Afro-Americans in New York Life & History* , v. 36, #1, Jan 2012. p. 101 . http://library.buffalo.edu/archives/exhibits/old/urr/Mass_Meeting_of_Colored_Citizens,_1850.html; John Hope Franklin, Loren Schweninger, *In Search of the Promised Land:A Slave Family in the Old South (*Oxford, 2005); "Second Baptist Society of Buffalo," Janury 31, 1844, Misc Book 2-6, Erie County Clerk's Office.
Tucker	Lorenzo D.	28 Cypress St. in 1867	1867-1880		no info.	Sabbath School	Listed as Sexton of the LaFayette Street Church in 1867 Directory. Elected church collector Mar 1867. Superintendant MSBC Sabbath School in 1880.	1867 Buffalo Directory. Buffalo Evening Courier and Republic 30 May 1880; Buffalo Courier, 7 Mar 1867.
Verrinder	Rev. William		1835-1840		EurAm	Pastor	Member of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Association (1835). Short term pastor of the MSBC. "Buffalo, N. Y.—In this city, February 16, William Verrinder was publicly set apart to the work of the gospel ministry. Sermon by J. N. Granger, pastor of the baptist church in Buffalo, from 1 Tim. 3: 1." Also worked as a printer in Buffalo.	Mary Talbert: "History of the MSBC, 1836-1908" The Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle, Volume 1. J. R. Bigelow, 1842, p. 130. American Anti-Slavery Society Branches in Western New York, 1837-38 Daily Commercial Advertiser (Buffalo, NY), July 13, 1835.
Walker	James/ Jonas	"under Michigan St. Baptist church" (directory)	1860	A peddler born in Virginia in 1778 living with wife Maria also b. VA in 1790. No other census information before 1860 or after. Named "Jonas" in census, "James" in directory.	Likely	Possibly Church Sexton?	A peddler born in Virginia in 1778 living with wife Maria also b. VA in 1790.	1860 Buffalo Directory; 1860 U.S. census.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
MEMBERSHIP AFFLIATIONS THROUGH 1870

Surname	First Name	Address	Date(s)	Census Info	Enslaved ?	Relation to MSBC	Significance	Source
Warring	Rev.		1862-1864		no info.	Pastor	"from Toledo, OH than went to Wash. D. C."	Mary Talbert: "History of the MSBC, 1836-1908"
Watkins	Arehy/ Archy		1849		no info.	Delegate	Delegate of the MSBC	Minutes of the Buffalo Baptist Association 1849
Watson	John L.		1836	not found in census	no info.	Presided at Incorp. Meeting	Supervised incorporation meeting, 1836.	"The Colored Society of Buffalo," March 29, 1836, Miscellaneous Book 1, p. 283, Erie County Clerk's Office.
Young	Benjamin Fleming	Over 164 Main St. (1851 Directory); 204 S. Division St. (1855 Directory)	1850 - 1883	1850-35 yr old b. VA, living w/ white tailor & family (Buemel); works as waiter. 1860-works as a porter, lives at 204 S. Division St. 1880: lives at 1 Genesee St. works as janitor. Both he & his wife Elise state "England" as their parent's birthplace.	Likely	Trustee	Early officer of the MSBC. Comrade in "arms" for the anti-slavery cause with George Weir, Jr.(North Star) His funeral on May 17 1883 was held at the MSBC.	Monroe Fordham, *Origins Mich. Baptist St. Church* p.6; North Star, August 24, 1849 Buffalo Courier, 17 May 1883;

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
from Buffalo Baptist Association Annual Reports c.1840-1926

Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
pre-1840			Elder Munroe				
1840	19	2d Buffalo	Brother Verrinder		Charles E. Smith	"Seem rather in a downcast state. Elder Munroe has left them, but they enjoy the labors of brother Verrinder, and beg your prayers for them.	*Minutes of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Buffalo, (formerly Holland Purchase) Baptist Association, Held with the Springville Church, in Springville, on the 9th and 10th September 1840* (Lodi: Edwin Hough, 1840), 14, 4.
1842		2d Buffalo				"Say, 'since your last meeting, [God has] been very merciful to us, and has added many . . . such as we trust will be saved.' They desire . . . prayers of God's people, that his blessings may [be] upon them."	*Minutes of the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Buffalo, (formerly Holland Purchase) Baptist Association, Held with th14 Baptist Church in Strykersville, on the 9th and 15th of September, 1842* (Lodi: Edwin Hough, 1842), 13.
1843	56	2d Buffalo	A.S. Brockenbourgh		No pastor, W. Qualls, L.K. Davis, A.S. Broc skenbourgh, (p. 4)	Comment page missing.	Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Anniversary of the Buffalo, formerly Holland Purchase, Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Hamburgh, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1843 (Buffalo: A.W. Wilgus, 1843), 13.
1844	56	2d Buffalo	Sam'l H. Davis Cottage, Buffalo		John Sharp (ordained, not present), *Sam'l H. Davis (licentiate),* W. Burlingame, W.W. Smith,W. Baldwin, D.W. Williams	"Still enjoy the stated means of grace. They have experienced those trials and encouragements common to the household of faith. They are doing all they can to build a house of worship. To aid them in their efforts, they ask the assistance of their brethren." (14)	Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Anniversary of the Buffalo, formerly Holland Purchase Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Evans, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of September, 1844 (Springville: Edwin Hough, 1844), 5, 14.
1844	57	Cottage, Buffalo	W. Burlingame (15)			"Adress us for the first time, having been organized during the past year, and received into this boy at its present session. They have no house of worship at present, but hope to build another year. Were organized in February, they number 36 members. They have now 57. Since th 10th of April, they hav e enjoyed the labors of Elder W. Burlingame. May the little one become a thousand.--Brethren praqy for them. (14-15) [Nothing on "Tabular View," p. 5.]	Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Anniversary of the Buffalo, formerly Holland Purchase Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Evans, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of September, 1844 (Springville: Edwin Hough, 1844), 14-15.
1845							
1846							
1847							
1848							
1849	89	2d Buffalo	John Mitchell		No pastor. Henry Fields, Jas. H. London, Archy Watkins (4)	"Have completed and dedicated their House of Worship, which is estimated at $3,500. The whole property of the church is estimated at $2,000. They are destitute of a Pastor, still their numbers are constantly increasing."	Minutes of the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Hamburgh, on the Twelfth and Thirteenth Days of September, 1849 (Springville: Edwin Hough, 1849), 4, 10.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
from Buffalo Baptist Association Annual Reports c.1840-1926

Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1850							
1851							
1852							
1853							
1854							
1855							
1856							
1857							
1858							
1859							
1860							
1861							
1862							
1863							
1864							
1865							
1866							
1867							
1868							
1869							
1870							
1871							
1872							
1873							
1874	37						
1875	51	Michigan St.	A.S. Brockenbourgh		JOHN COLLINS (ordained), Chas. Smith (14)	No comments.	Minutes of the Sixtieth Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Hamburgh, on the 7th, 8th & 9th of September, 1875 (Buffalo: Baker, Jones & Co., 1875), 14.
1876							
1877							
1878							
1879	23						
1880	21	Michigan St., founded 1838	William Storum, 156 Pine St.		Dea. Wm. Storum, S.P. Barker, delegates		Minutes of the Seventy-Second Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Prospect Avenue Baptist Church, in Buffalo, N.Y., on the 7th, 8th and 9th of September, 1880 (Buffalo: E.H. Hutchinson, 1880), 12.
1881							
1882							
1883							
1884							

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
from Buffalo Baptist Association Annual Reports c.1840-1926

Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1885	13	Michigan St., founded Nov. 28, 1836	Philip H. Peck, 394 Main St.		Rev. Philip H. Peck, Jas. Storum, delegates.		Minutes of the Seventy-Seventh Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Cedar Street Church, in Buffalo, N.Y., on the 8th, 9th and 10th of September, 1885 (Buffalo: E.H. Hutchinson, 1885), 12.
1886							
1887							
1888							
1889	42	Michigan St., founded Nov. 28, 1836	Philip H. Peck, 394 Main St.	Pastor Rev. H. Powell, 521 Monroe St.	Delegates-- Rev. H. Powell, P.H. Peck, Jno.Granby, Walter Walker		Eighty-first Annual Session.Minutes of the of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Washington Street Church, Buffalo, N.Y., September 17th and 18th, 1889 (Buffalo: E.H. Hutchinson, [1889]), 20.
1890	44	Michigan St., founded Nov. 28, 1836	Philip H. Peck, 394 Main St.		Rev. R.C. Quarles, delegate.	No comments.	Eighty-Second Annual Session.Minutes of the of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in Arcade, N.Y., September 16th, 17th and 18th, 1890 (Buffalo: E.H. Hutchinson, [1890]), 20.
1891							
1892	53	Michigan St., founded Nov. 28, 1839.	Mrs. F.E. Linza, 67 Elm St.	Rev. J.E. Nash (supply), 48 Potter St.	Delegates-- Rev. H. Evans, Rev. J.E. Nash		Minutes of the Eighty-Fourth Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Baptist Church in North Tonawanda, N.Y., September 13th, 14th and 15th, 1892 (n.p.: n.p, n.d.), 16.
1893							
1894							
1895	48	Michigan St., 1839	Mrs. F.A. Linza, 194 Clinton St.	Rev. J.E. Nash, 48 Potter St.	Delegates-- Rev. J.E. Nash, Rev. P.H. Peck	"We seem to have accomplished but little. It has been a hard year financially. We are, however, encouraged to go forward." (p. 15)	Minutes of the Eighty-Seventh Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the church in Holland, New York, September 10th, 11th and 12th, 1895 (n.p., [1895]), 15, 18.
1896							
1897							
1898							
1899							
1900	57	Michigan St., 1839	Mrs. F.A. Linza, 224 Clinton St.	Rev. J.E. Nash, 188 [?] Clinton St.	Delegates-- Rev. J.E. Nash, Mr. B. Wright, Mr. F.M. Tarry, Miss E. Coy (p. 23)	"The year just closed has been one of blessing to us. Sixteen have been added to our number. Our church property has been improved." (p. 37)	Minutes of the Ninety-Second Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Delevan, N.Y., September 11th and 12th, 1900 (n.p., [1900]),
1901	51	Michigan St., 1840	Mrs. F.A. Linza, 224 Clinton St.	Rev. J.E. Nash, 188 Clinton St.	Delegates-- Rev. J.E. Nash,Mrs. F.M. Tarvy, Mrs. J.A. Billups, Mrs. E.M. Pike (p. 24)	"	Minutes of the Ninety-Third Annual Session of the Buffalo Baptist Association, Held with the Church at Arcade, N.Y., September 10th and 11th, 1901 (n.p., n.d.),
1902							
1903							
1904							

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
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Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1905	Michigan Street					"We are glad to report that our way has been through green pastures and beside the still waters during the past year. We have maintained our regular services throughout the year. The pastor and members have been unceasing in their labors. Our business meetings have been peaceable and constructive. Our prayer meetings have been well attended and good interest has been kept up. Not as many as we have wished to see, have attended the communion service. Our missionary offerings have not been as large as we have desired to have them. We have given a little. Great hopes are based upon the work, both in the Junior Christian Endeavor Society and in the Sunday School. Our Senior Y.P.S.C.E. has brought new life into its meetings by ading a literary department, known as the Christian Culture Congress. Sister Emeline Coy, who was the oldest member of our Church and one of the oldest in the Association, having attende the sessions for more than sixty years, died on the 29th of January. We have all missed her. Brother H. Evans, another of our old members, who had been pastor of a number of chruches, died July 2. Brother D. Riley, who had been a member of our Church about six years, died July 17. Thus our little flock has been decreased, but we are strengthened by the life they lived. We pray that this 97th session of our Association may be one	Minutes of the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Buffalo Baptist Association met at Hamburg, N.Y. Tuesday and Wednesday October 3 and 4, 1905 (n.p., n.d.)
1906							
1907							
1908		Michigan Street				"We have endeavored to keep up activity during the year. Our special meetings in March were a blessing. The church building is undergoing extensive repairs at a cost of about $2,000. Our Young People's Society and Sunday School are very helpful in their service." (p. 20)	Minutes of the Ninety-eighth Annual Meeting of the Buffalo Baptist Association held at East Aurora,N.Y. Thursday and Friday, September 24 and 25, 1908.

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
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Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1909						"Our house of worship was reopened the 27th of last December, after being closed for four months for repairs and alterations. The work has cost us $3,300. After special meetings in March we baptized six. A fairly good interest has been maintained in each epartment of the Church." (p. 32)	Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the Ninety-Ninth Annual Session, Held with the Church at Arcade, Sept. 31 and Oct. 1, 1909.
1910	61	Michigan Street. No parsonage. Seating capacity 300. (p. 54)	Mrs. F.E. Linza, 233 Clinton St.	Rev. J. Edward Nash, 66 Walnut St.		"We have given a very small place to current matters and have tried to make our letter historical. Twenty-nine years after the formalization of this Association the Second, now the Michigan Street Church, was organized by a number of Afro-American brethren from the Washington Street (First) Church. FOr a number of years the church grew and prospered. But the rush to the gold fields of California took away many of the most helpful members. During these days the church witnessed many reverses. In 1886 the church went into the Buffalo Baptist Union by whose constant aid we have received new life. The debt for repairs and alterations amounting to $3,167.46 has been all paid. So we are glad that out of debt, at peace among ourselves and full of hope we can celebrate with you the 100th anniversary of our Association." (pp. 28-29)	Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the One Hundredth Annual Session, held with the Prospect Ave. Church at Buffalo September 29 and 30, 1910.
1911							
1912							
1913							
1914							

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
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Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1915		Michigan Street				"The power of the evil one manifested during the past year has called for special prayer and supplication. We have been able to meet all our current expenses and give more for Missions than ever before. We have more than met our apportionment. Mrs. Copeland and Mrs. Wm. Martin, chariman and treasurer of our Missionary Comittee, report good work done. Our committee on educational work, through their chairman and treasurer, has sent in an excellent report. Our Sunday School work was never better. Our young people occupy, uner the leaership of Mrs. W.H. Talbert, a very prominent place in our church work. The men of our church have recently organized."	Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the One Hundred Fifth Annual Session. Randall Memorial Baptist Church, Williamsville, N.Y. September 30 and October 1, 1915.
1916							
1917							
1918		Michigan Street				"Sister Belle Martin went to her rewar the 21st of last October. A fire occurred in our building in January which kept us out of it for a part of three months. But everything is in better shape now than it was before the fire. Our brethren continue to come into our city from the South. This gives us a great opportunity for service. God is greatly blessing us in every way."	Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the One Hundred Eighth Annual Session. First Baptist Church, Tonawanda, N.Y. September 26th and 27th, 1918.
1919							
1920							

MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH INFORMATION
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Year	Number Members	Church Name	Clerks	Pastor	Ministers and Delegates	Comments	Source
1921	376	Michigan Avenue (1839). Gained 103 members. 83 joined by experience, 2 by letter, 29 by baptism. (p. 68)	Frances Jackson 20 Potter St.	Rev. J. Edward Nash 64 Walnut St.		"1920. The most outstanding feature, in our work, during the past year has been our relation to the $100,000,000 Drive of the Northern Baptist Convention. Our benevolence during the past year has been about five times as much as in any previous year. We are planning to improve and enlarge our work so as to meet the demands that are upon us. 1921. The Michigan Avenue is the second oldest church in the Buffalo Baptist Association, having been organized in 1839. Conditions have wonderfully changed during these years. And we find that we must measure up to new standards, in order to render helpful service to our brethren who have recently come into our city in great numbers from the south." (p. 59)	(Combined Volume) I. Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the One Hundred Tenth and Eleventh Annual Sessions. II. Buffalo Baptist Union Fortieth Annual Report 1919-1921
1922							
1923							
1924							
1925							
1926	590	Michigan Avenue	Leonard Sayres 130 Madison St.	Rev. J. Edward Nash 36 Potter St.		"The regular work has moved on smoothly. Our finances for both Church expenses an Missionary obligations have not been anywhere near what we would like to have them. We feel however that our success in this direction will be far more satisfactory during the year that is ahead of us. We send herewith our congratulations to the Randall Memorial Church upon her being able t clebrate her one hundredth anniversary."	Buffalo Baptist Association. Minutes of the One Hundred Sixteenth Annual Session, 1925-26. Randall Memorial Church, Williamsvile, N.Y., May 13th and 14th, 1926.

LIST OF MINISTERS FROM "HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, 1836-1908." BY MARY TALBERT
Buffalo Baptist Association Buffalo History Center

YEAR	NAME	RACE	BORN FREE/ ENSLAVED	# MEMBERS	MINISTER	DELEGATES	DEACONS	CLERKS	TRUSTEES, etc. From Directories
1836	William Munroe	AfAm			William Monroe also pastor of Detroit Baptist Church.				
1837	William Munroe								
1838	William Munroe								
1839	William Munroe?								
1840	Verrinder/Jeffrey	EurAm		19					
1841	Jeffrey?	EurAm							
1842	Dutton/Sharpe	AfAm		49	Monroe still in Buffalo, 1842 directory.				
1843	Sharpe			56	James? Sharpe				
1844	Sharpe/Samuel H. Davis	AfAm	?/F	56					
1845	Sharpe/Jeffries (6 mos)	AfAm	F/	66	Cornerstone laid				
1846	Samuel Davis/David Miller	AfAm/?							
1847	Samuel Davis/David Miller	AfAm			Ordained basement of church				
1848	Samuel Davis/David Miller	AfAm		81	Sabbath School organized				
1849	David Miller/Samuel Davis	EurAm/AfAm			Miller went to Hayti. Church completed, dedicated. (Miller age 33 in 1850, living in 4th ward, next to two AfAm families, Wife Lucy, five children, boarder. Gardner, b. NY.				
1850	Samuel Davis	AfAm			Davis married and stayed 3-4 years.				Rev. Pastor. Henry Fields, William Qualls, Benj. F. Young. Trustees: Henry K. Thomas, Payton Harris, James L. Thomas
1851	David Miller			93	Name changed to MSBC (from 2nd Baptist); decision to rent pews for $10.00.				
mid-1850s	Supplied by association, with communion from pastor of Wash.St. in afternoon. (6)								
1855-58	Rev. Duke Anderson								
1858	Rev. J. Sella Martin		Ensl.	32 baptized					

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1859-60?	Bro. Rantz of German Baptist, Bro. Malori of Washington St., others appt'd by pastor of Washington St. to fill pulpit. Bro. Francis from Cedar St.								
1861	Rev. Rufus Perry		Ensl.	41	stayed one year and went to Brooklyn.	L.D. Tucker			
1862?	Rev. F.J. Boag			29					
	Rev. Jones								
	Rev. Warring								
1863?	Rev. Calluis				stayed one year.	William Storum			
1864?	Rev. Warring				from Toledo, Ohio. Then went to Washington, D.C.				
1865?	Messrs. Lapins and Steniker				labored for several years without pay in both Church and Sabbath School.				
1866									
1867				36					
1868									
1869									
1870				24					
1871									
1872				41					
1873									
1874									
1875									
1876									
1877	Rev. J. Tanner			20					
1878									
1879									
1880									
1881									
1882				18	Peyton Harris died.				
1883	Philip Peck			13	Returned from California and acted as clerk, SS Supt., minister, for nearly two years.				
1884	Philip Peck			13					

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1885				13	Talbert lists thirteen names, only two men, p. 8. Debt--$900.00. Deacon Storum went to E.L. Hedstrom, President, Buffalo Baptist Union. "As truly as Lincoln has been calle th Savior of his country, so the future generations must look upon Mr. E.L. Hedstrom as the Savior of this Church."-8.Buffalo Bapt. Union gathered MSBC under its care, installed new windows and other repairs in fall.				
1886	Rev. Mr. Holland Powell				Jan. 1, 1886--re-opening day. Pastor came from Va., Feb. 1886. Stayed four years. Raised $800 toward debt, added new members, put in a "pool."				
1887	Rev. Mr. Holland Powell								
1888	Rev. Mr. Holland Powell								
1889	Rev. Mr. Holland Powell				Returned to Richmond, Va.				
1890	Rev. A.C. Quarles				Straight back seats.				
1891	Rev. A.C. Quarles								
1892	Rev. J. Edward Nash				From Wayland Seminary. Straight back seats, two coal stoves, "not mates, but noted as much for giving out gas as heat. The large windows in front were of plain glass, painted white. No cushions were upon the seats, for that was a luxury unneeded, a small organ in the corner, opposite to the side which had been known as the Amen Corner furnished the music. One large chandelier furnished light for the church; an additional light for the pulpit was to be had from a well polished oil lamp."--10		Deacon Benj. Wright, Deacon F.M. Tarry.	Florence Linza	
1893	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1894	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1895	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1896	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1897	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1898	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1899	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1900	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1901	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1902	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	

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YEAR	NAME	RACE	BORN FREE/ ENSLAVED	# MEMBERS	MINISTER	DELEGATES	DEACONS	CLERKS	TRUSTEES, etc. From Directories
1903	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1904	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1905	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1906	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1907	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	
1908	Rev. J. Edward Nash							Florence Linza	

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1784	Joseph Hodge	1		A Colonel Thomas Proctor reported in 1791 that the only two non-Indian settlers living in what is now called the Buffalo NY area were a white trader, Cornelius Winne, and his partner, Joseph Hodge. He said Hodge had lived among the Seneca Indians since 1771, many (perhaps fifteen) years before Winne came to the area, "spoke their language fluently, and had an Indian family." Hodge, sometimes called "Black Joe" or referred to as a "Son of Africa", was an escaped slave who operated, with his Indian wife, a trading post. Once the number of white settlers increased, the Senecas were forced to move from their Buffalo Creek home to the Cattaraugus Creek reservation, and Hodge moved with them while continuing to assist as an interpreter between the Senecas and the whites.	Ena L. Farley, "The African American Presence in the History of Western New York," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 14:1 (January 1990); Barton Atkins, Modern Antiquities: Sketches of Early Buffalo (Buffalo: Courier Company, 1898), 6-7; The Circle Association's African American History of Western New York State, 1770 to 1830, includes a brief biography of Joe Hodge by University of Buffalo archivist Christopher Densmore, 5/16/2000.
1824	James Adams	1+	Capt. B.	Adams relates his escape from Virginia via Ohio & Buffalo to Canada: "The man of the house hid us in his barn two nights and three days. He was a shoemaker. The next night after we got there, he went to Cleveland himself to get a berth for us aboard some boat for Canada. When he returned, he said he had found a passage for us with Capt. B., who was to sail the next Thursday at 10, P. M. At that hour we embarked, having a free passage in a schooner for Buffalo. We reached Buffalo at 4, P. M. The captain said, that if there was any danger in the town, he would take us in his yawl and put us across. He walked through the town to see if there were any bills up. Finding no danger, he took us out of the hatchway,--he walked with us as far as Black Rock Ferry, giving us good advice all the way, how we should conduct ourselves through life in Canada, and we have never departed from his directions,--his counsel was good, and I have kept it...I arrived in Canada on the 13th September, 1824"	A North-Side View of Slavery. The Refugee: or the Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada. Related by Themselves, with an Account of the History and Condition of the Colored Population of Upper Canada Benjamin Drew. xii, 387, [4] p., ill. BOSTON: 1856 http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/drew/drew.html
1830	Josiah Henson	2+		Henson was born a slave in 1789 in Maryland. Upon a threat to move him to the dreaded "South", he escaped with his family in 1830. "They walk, Henson carrying the two smallest children in a bag on his back, from Kentucky to Ohio, fighting exposure, exhaustion, and hunger. They are aided by Native Americans in the Ohio wilderness as well as sympathetic boatmen who carry them across Lake Erie to Buffalo, New York,"where they crossed to Erie at Black Rock. They settled in Dresden, Ontario, Canada and Henson became a preacher and leader in the Afro-Canadian community, and even traveled back into the United States to help other slaves escape.	Josiah Henson, 1789-1883 The Life of Josiah Henson, Formerly a Slave, Now an Inhabitant of Canada, as Narrated by Himself. Boston: A. D. Phelps, 1849. http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/henson49/summary.html

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1833	unknown	1	Ferryman at Black Rock	"I heard of one who... reached the Erie River at Black Rock, near Buffalo, and in sight of that Canada which had been the object of his fondest desires, and had actually gone upon the ferryboat to be conveyed... The ferryman was loosing the boat from the shore, when... up rode his master upon a foaming steed, and....drew his loaded pistol, and told the ferryman--"If you loose that boat to convey my Negro to the opposite bank, I'll blow your brains out!" The Negro seized a handspike, and, holding it menacingly over the ferryman's head, said, "If you don't loose the boat and ferry me across, I'll beat your brains out!" The ferryman, one of the best of his class, a Yankee, friendly to the Negro,... seeing both equally determined and decided, 'Wall! I can't die but once; and if I die, I guess I would rather die doing right. So here goes the boat."	Samuel R. Ward and Third Annual Report of the American Anti-Slavery Society (1836), 20, in Van Ness, 100-101. Samuel Ringgold Ward, Autobiography of a fugitive negro in anti-slavery labors in the United States. Canada & England. London: J. Snow. 1855), 177-79. http://tinyurl.com/3gldqio.
1836	Stanford/ Sandford	3	William Wells Brown & many others at Hamburg and Buffalo.	A rescue story highlighting Buffalo's African American community. A slave catcher (Bacon Tate) comes to Buffalo ready to cross into Canada to kidnap the Stanford family back to slavery. A Buffalo woman is convinced to spy on the family for Tate and report on their situation in Canada. A kidnapping occurs and the Stanfords are taken to a tavern in West Hamburgh where they are met by a contingent of men from Buffalo (tipped off by a sympathetic man at the ferry) and rescued. After being taken to Buffalo and cared for by the said group, they are confronted again by an attempt at their capture and are armed and ready to fight. "The colored people of Buffalo are noted for their promptness in giving aid to the fugitive slave." A lawyer "Pepper" steps in to announce they can continue to fight as the kidnappers had no warrant for the Stanfords. The kidnappers are beaten back and the Stanfords are taken back safely to Canada. There was much discussion on how to punish the spy woman from their own community, but she was admonished and let go.	William Wells Brown, Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849). http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/brown.html. Daily Commercial Advertiser (Buffalo, NY), 7/13/1835
1837	Mammy Chadwick	1+		“runaway slaves used to appear in Buffalo, eagerly asking the way to Canada.” Chadwick, reported to be over 100 years old at her death in 1899, was born enslaved, sold many times over and eventually made her way on the UGRR from Kentucky to Canada in 1837..."after a few years went to Chatham, in the midst of a district full of refugee blacks, and there she lived for sixty years, rejoicing in the distinction of having nursed in their infancy many who became Chatham's oldest and most prominent citizens."	Severance (1899), 241-42, quoted in Van Ness, 89-90.Frank H. Severance, Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier, (Buffalo: Mathews-Northrup Co., 1899.), 240-41 http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1837	Walter Hawkins	1		Walter Hawkins, a fugitive from slavery, gives his impressions of Buffalo as he experienced it on the UGRR in 1837. "Such then was the state of things when Walter Hawkins arrived in the city. It was busy enough to make the fugitive feel that there was a chance to get some employment; in this he was not disappointed...he obtained a situation as waiter in one of the many hotels of the city. " Here he learned to read & write and went to prayer meetings among his own race. As the Negroes in Buffalo had no place of worship at this time, they were compelled to hold meetings in each other's houses or in groves..." He was instrumental in forming & building the first colored Methodist church in Buffalo. He gives accounts of the prejudice and poor treatment of African Americans by many whites in Buffalo. After a terrible injustice done to him by his employer, he "shook the dust of cruel Buffalo from off his feet, and directed his steps to his brother at New Bedford, Mass."	Walter Hawkins, Van Ness, 97-98. S. J. Celestine Edwards. From Slavery to a Bishopric: or. The Life of Bishop Walter Hawkins of the British Methodist Episcopal (hutch. Canada, (London: J. Kensit, 1891), http://www.archive.org/details/fromslavery00cdwauoft.From Cynthia Van Ness, Still they come: some eyewitness accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History. 36:1 (Jan.2012).Online at Questia,http://www.questia.com/library/1G1-280967667/still-they-come-some-eyewitness-accounts-of-the.
1837	Solomon Moseby	1+	Holmes & Carter hundreds in Canada	"One day in 1836 an intelligent negro, riding a thorough-bred but jaded horse, appeared on the streets of Buffalo. His appearance must have advertised him to all as a runaway slave. I do not know that he made any attempt to conceal the fact. His chief concern was to sell the horse as quickly as possible, and get across to Canada." He was a fugitive from KY & had stolen his owner's horse. "A Kentucky grand jury soon found a true bill against him for horse-stealing, and civil officers traced him to Niagara, and made requisition for his arrest and extradition." A violent riot ensued. Peter B. Porter of Black Rock offered his house as a base from which to launch efforts to recapture Solomon Moseby in 1837. Porter espoused the views of the American Colonization Society, which set up the colony of Liberia in West Africa and settled the area with free people of color from the U.S.	Severance, Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier, 2nd edition Cleveland: Burrows Brothers Company, 1903,www.archive.org/stream/oldtrailsonniag00sevegoog/oldtrailsonniag00sevegoog_djvu.txt. Judith Wellman, "Site of Peter B. Porter House," in "Underground Railroad Sites," edr, Niagara Fall Underground Railroad Heritage Area Management Plan (Niagara Falls: Niagara Falls Underground Railroad Heritage Area Commission, 2011) www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1838	unknown	several	Orton	“Professor Edward Orton recalls that in 1838, soon after his father moved to Buffalo, two sleigh-loads of negroes from the Western Reserve were brought to the house in the night-time.” Siebert, 35. (fn 5: “conversation with Mr. Orton, Ohio State University, Columbus, O., 1893.)	Wilbur H. Siebert, Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom (New York: Macmillan, 1898), 35. http://deila.dickinson.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=%2Fownwords&CISOPTR=45633&REC=0&CISOBOX=35
1842	William Wells Brown	69	William Wells Brown	"But Buffalo, as a center of railroad, canal, and lake transportation, inevitably became a major site of UGRR activity. In 1842, e.g., William Wells Brown, Buffalo resident and himself a fugitive from slavery in Kentucky, was working as a steward on a lake steamer that ran from Cleveland to Buffalo to Detroit. He willingly took people escaping from slavery onto the boat with charge. “In the year 1842,” he remembered, “I conveyed, from the first of May to the first of December, sixty-nine fugitives over Lake Erie to Canada.”	William Wells Brown, Narrative of William W. Brown, An American Slave, Written by Himself (London: Charles Gilpin, 1849). 107-108 http://docsouth.unc.edu/fpn/brownw/br
1843	unknown	1	George Washington Jonson	"May 29, 1843: Went to the jail with some colored men to see a prisoner whom they suspect to be a fugitive slave. The pro-slavery sheriff uncivil."	GWJ, G.W. Jonson. Buffalo, 1843, in Elwin Powell, "Talking Abolition . . . in 1843. Frederick Douglass Speaks in Buffalo's Front Park Excerpts from the Journal of George Washington Jonson," http://www.buffalonian.com/diaries/gwjliberty1843.html
1843	Pollock	1	George Washington Jonson	"Aug 8 . . .to County Anti-Slavery meeting at Clarence Hollow. . . I had to do pretty much all the speaking. Back to Buffalo at 1:30 by buggy. Eight persons signed the constitution. . . Some of the resolutions were opposed by proslavery speakers. A fugitive slave, named Pollock, gave his history in slavery and interested the audience. . .Paid $2 .50 to rent horse and buggy. "	GWJ, G.W. Jonson. Buffalo, 1843, in Elwin Powell, "Talking Abolition . . . in 1843. Frederick Douglass Speaks in Buffalo's Front Park Excerpts from the Journal of George Washington Jonson," http://www.buffalonian.com/diaries/gwjliberty1843.html

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1847	Brown family	2+	George W. Jonson, Rev. G. W. Hosmer, Rev. East, William Quarles family, Rev. Young, John Dandridge, "three or four blacks"	...a man rattled at my office door. Opened hesitantly. It was Rev. G. W. Hosmer, Unitarian minister of Buffalo. Wanted my aid. Was very much agitated, he. A minister named East had commended to his care a colored fugitive slave, wife, children...Hurried off with H. to rouse some of the colored folks here to take them. Not a Negro in the streets. Went way over to Quarles on Michigan street... got his son to go to a colored boarding house, and after much debate, induced three or four blacks to accompany me to Hosmer's where Brown/the fugitive and family were. It was now raining smartly. Found the fugitives on the side walk...Young, their white guide, holding an umbrella over them. Young went to Hosmers. The fugitives were quartered among the colored people...I learned the next day that Brown had escaped from prison in Phil...The next day Brown went on to Detroit. I gave Rev. Young a letter of introduction to Charles H. Stewart there, commending to him the Browns...Quite an amount contributed here for the fugitives...I must do Dandridge and other colored men the justice to say they did their whole duty..."	Elwin H. Powell, News from the Aceldama: Black and White Relations as Revealed by the Journal of George Washington Jonson: (1832-68), (Buffalo: s.n., 1976), 12; Cynthia Van Ness, "And Still They Come: Some Eyewitness Accounts of the Underground Railroad in Buffalo," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History. 36.1 (Jan. 2012), 95-6.
1847	unknown	1	Robert "Bob" Smith George W. Jonson	"Bob Smith, colored" came to GWJ in the (Buffalo) Anti-slavery Reading Room, asking his help for a fugitive slave pursued by two Kentuckians. "The slave escaped, having walked through a crowd that opened for him, but closed and barred the slaveholders, who attempted to follow. 'Quite a quiet mob,' according to Jonson. 'I tried the case on the sidewalk again, old I.R. Lathrop, attorney and Dutchman Nichols, the ass, and a chap named Hall, a white-livered fellow, who is an agent for New Orleans slave-holding proprietors of our steamboats. The latter talked of cutting my throat. That such a wretch should be tolerated here! Didn't I give them some?"	Elwin H. Powell, News from the Aceldama: Black and White Relations as Revealed by the Journal of George Washington Jonson: (1832-68), (Buffalo: s.n., 1976), 423-24

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1847	Christopher Webb	1	Abner H. Francis et al	VIOLENT ATTEMPT TO RE-CAPTURE A SLAVE. -- Two persons from Covington, Kentucky, one of whom claims to be the agent for the owner of a colored man, named Christopher Webb, who has for some time served as waiter at the Gothic Hall Saloon, told poor Webb that he must return to his master, and when he protested that he was free, one of them seized him and drawing a "six shooter" threatened to kill the first person who should interfere. He however, contrived to escape, and it having been found out that he had been arrested illegally, a warrant was obtained against the agents for the man who thought "he had a right to do as he liked with his own." It was then their turn to escape, which they attempted without delay, hotly pursued by the Deputy Sheriff and people of various hues. The runaways had the start. The affair created much excitement, particularly among our colored citizens and the abolitionists; but the Kentuckians successfully eluded all pursuit. Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, October 1, 1847. An Excitement -- A Slave Case -- A man from Kentucky in quest of his human property, arrived in our city, and finding one of his chattels personal enjoying the largest liberty, seized upon him yesterday afternoon with a view of conveying him back to the land of slavery. He was brought before Justice Dickie, but contrived to escape and it being ascertained that he had been arrested without process, the tables were turned, and a warrant obtained against the master for false imprisonment. It was not the masters turn to escape, which he lost no time in doing-- hotly pursued by a motley group. They flew down Swan street, the pursuers and the pursued-- the master having about half a mile the lead. -- The affair created much excitement for a while, especially among our colored citizens and abolitionists.Buffalo Daily Courier, October 1, 1847. Richardson: "African American Buffaloians held a meeting to discuss the kidnapping attempt (of Christopher Webb) and as a result formed a vigilance committee to monitor the comings and goings of prospective "bloodhounds". Also, they collected money and appointed a committee to investigate possible legal action against two constables and a local attorney who had assisted the "bloodhounds". (15) The community availed itself of the legal system to obtain justice. A subsequent lawsuit netted $90 for damages from the two constables. They also paid all the court costs, estimated at $200. Community leader and successful businessman, Abner Francis, believed that the failed kidnapping attempt and favorable legal ruling would "settle it [acts of villainy] forever, so far as our city is concerned."	Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, October 1, 1847; Buffalo Courier, October 1, 1847, in Christopher Densmore, "Religion, Reform, and UGRR."
1850			Mass Meeting of Colored Citizens, October 3, 1850	...a meeting of the colored citizens of the city was held at Clinton Hall,...meeting was called to order by Mr. Henry K. Thomas... Mr. John Simpson, was appointed President; and Messrs. D.H. Hawkins, Peyton Harris, Richard Jones, Henry Moxley, and Eli Holden, appointed Vice-Presidents, and Messrs. George Weir, Jr. and B.F. Young, Secretaries...a committee of thirteen was appointed to prepare business for the meeting, consisting of Messrs. James M. Whitfield, J.H. Elebeck, H.K. Thomas, Uriah Lett, George Dover, N.H. Dunlap, John Dandridge, Henry Fields, R.S. Brown, John McLeane, Edward Cooke, D. Moten, and A. Parker. ...the Fugitive Slave Bill, as recently passed by Congress, be read. After ...Mr. A.H. Francis, ...addressed the meeting at some length. Reviewing the conduct of the present Administration, in reference to the cause of freedom, &c. The Rev. Mr. Campbell...examined the various features as contained in the "Fugitive Bill, and clearly proving its unconstitutionality" in every respect...received with unbounded applause.	October 4, 1850] Densmore, “Underground Railroad in Western New York” [North Star (Rochester, NY), October 24, 1850] Densmore, “UGRR in Western New York”; Jean Richardson, “Buffalo’s Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850,” Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 27:2 (July 2003).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1851			George Weir	Sir: I was...astonished to find in your paper...in relation to the effects of the Fugitive Slave Bill in Buffalo, stating that 130 from the colored Baptist Church had left, for fear of arrest on the charge of being fugitive slaves, and also that the Methodist Church has lost a considerable number...that it is incorrect and instead of the large number spoken of, not 3 have left from either church, ...The Buffalonians are made up of different stuff. We are not so easily frightened as to leave our homes; and I imagine that it would require more force than any of the Fillmore clique could summon in Buffalo to drive us from the homes of our adoption...We...have come to the conclusion that we have a right to live here, and also that we have a right to use the same means to maintain our rights that our revolutionary fathers taught us on a "certain occasion." No attempts made here yet to arrest any one. Our city has enjoyed a quietude and repose which is devoutly be hoped may continue. But when it shall be broken, Buffalo will be heard from.	Letter from George Weir about Black Citizens of Buffalo, March 15, 1851 [North Star (Rochester, NY), March 20, 1851]
1851	Daniel Davis		crowd; John L. Talcott, lawyer	"The case of the capture and later freeing of "Daniel" (Daniel Davis) in Buffalo, New York, in August 1851, received considerable publicity in the local and state newspapers as the first case in Buffalo following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The case itself was dramatic: Daniel had been struck on the head with a stick of wood during the course of his arrest, which resulted in the jailing of one of the slave catchers. The United States Commissioner at Buffalo was prepared to return Daniel to Kentucky as a fugitive slave, but a judge released Daniel on a writ of habeas corpus whereupon Daniel left for Canada. The crowd followed the carriage through Main street, making demonstrations and uttering threats, and impeded its course by taking hold of the wheels and horses, but effected nothing further. There was considerable tumult in the street, and the colored people were much excited;" "Thus ended the first Fugitive Slave case in Buffalo."	Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, August 15-16, 1851; August 16, 1851; August 19, 1851; Utica Morning Herald, August 18, 1851; Buffalo Morning Express, August 30, 1851. Found by Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the UGRR in Western New York," http://library.buffalo.edu/libraries/units/archives/exhibits/old/urr/.
1851	Harrison	1	Storum family, Busti	Harrison, about 18 years old, was arrested in Jamestown and brought to Buffalo in September 1851. Commissioner Smith dispatched Harrison back to his alleged master. (28) The Democratic Buffalo Daily Courier believed the Commissioner's decision "perfectly correct." The editors reported that this time the proceedings created no excitement. This seems to have been the case-- According to a letter written to Frederick Douglass' Paper, Harrison may have been legally saved "if some of our own citizens had done their duty."	Buffalo Daily Courier, 4 October 1851; Frederick Douglass' Paper, 23 October 1851. Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 27:2 (July 2003
1851		1		Historian Stanley Campbell reports a third Buffalo case noting, "one fugitive slave" was remanded to slavery in October 1851. No newspaper record could be found for this case. Buffalo would experience no further fugitive slave arrests. Nationwide Campbell found 1851 to be the year of the greatest number of slave arrests and returns under the 1850 law. (30)-- Campbell, 200, 116.	Campbell, 200, 116, quoted in Jean Richardson, "Buffalo's Antebellum African American Community and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," Afro-Americans in New York Life and History 27:2 (July 2003).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1852	Samuel Murray			"Samuel Murray, a free-born negro, came to Buffalo from Reading, Pa., in 1852. For a time he was employed at the American Hotel, and went to work very early in the morning. It was, he has said, a common occurrence to meet strange negroes, who would ask him the way to Canada. 'Many a time,' said Murray, 'I have gone into the hotel and taken food for them. Then I would walk out Niagara Street to the ferry and see them on the boat bound for Canada.' Mr. Murray has related the following incidents: There was a free black man living in Buffalo in the '50s who made a business of going to the South after the wives of former slaves who had found comfortable homes, either in the Northern States or in Canada. They paid him well for his work, and he rarely failed to accomplish his mission."	Samuel Murray, Severance (1899), 242-44. Frank Severance, Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227
1853	Patrick Snead			“Another celebrated Underground case was the arrest at Niagara Falls of a slave named Sneedon, on a charge of murder, undoubtedly trumped up to procure his return South. Sneedon is described as a fine-looking man, with a complexion almost white. He was brought to trial in Buffalo, when Eli Cook pleaded his case so successfully that he was acquitted. No sooner was he released than he was spirited away via the Underground Railroad."	http://www.niagarafallsundergroundrailroad.org/index.php/sites/48-2-site-of-the-cataract-house http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227
1854	unknown	8	Phoenix Lansing; George Weir, Jr; T. R., Esq.	"I was awakened at an early hour by an immense noise and confusion at my door. I found notwithstanding the "immense heavy snow drifts" that a train of cars belonging to the Underground Railroad had just arrived, bringing eight passengers, six men and two women, all direct from "Old Kentuck." Of course the doors of the depot were thrown open, and in they marched, rank and file, led by T.R. Esq., one of the conductors on the road. After a few moment's conversation, we conducted them to a public house kept by one of our people...a sleigh was provided, and the eight happy souls, in charge of Phoenix Lansing, Esq.., one of our active and energetic townsmen, were driven to Black Rock, and in a few moment's more were safely landed on the other side.." Weir	North Star, Van Ness, 93-4. George Weir. Jr., "Still They Come: Underground Railroad in Active Operation." Frederick Douglass Paper, 4 January I855.
1855		1		"Captain John Harness tries to recapture a fugitive in Buffalo and can find no lawyer to help him."(NE) " ...the mission of Captain John Harness, of Hardy county, to Buffalo, New York, where a slave of his had been imprisoned for some misdemeanor. “They found, upon their arrival at Buffalo, the negro fellow still in jail. They applied to every lawyer in the city to prepare the necessary papers, but could not obtain one, though liberal fees were offered!" "Judge Hall even said to a friend of Captain Harness, that Captain Harness had better not push matters; that, even if he obtained possession of the negro, the mob would rescue him; but that if Captain Harness insisted, that he (Judge Hall) would do his duty. The reasons assigned by these lawyers were, that they were afraid of a mob. Captain Harness was finally compelled to leave."(PF) "The lawyers of Buffalo are setting an example worthy of praise. When every professional man refuses his aid to a slave hunter then will the Fugitive Slave Bill be in reality a dead letter."(FDP)	Van Ness, 95. National Era, 20 Sept 1855; Frederick Douglass paper, 5 Oct 1855; Provincial Freeman, December 8, 1855. "The Fugitive Slave Law a Dead Letter." 8 December 1855 etc.. http://www.accessible.com.dbgateway.nysed.gov/accessible/text/freedom/00000291/00029141.htm

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1857			Peyton Harris, William Qualls, A.S. Broken-borough, James Whitfield, Deaton Dorrell, D.W. Anderson.	The following document is a newspaper account of a meeting held at the Vine Street African Methodist Episcopal Church in March 1847, to discipline a local man who had betrayed his wife into slavery. The people who organized the meeting represented the three African-American churches in Buffalo at this time: Deaton Donnell was Pastor of the Vine Street AME Church, and William Burton was a trustee; Peyton Harris, A.S. Brokenborough and William Qualls were trustees of the Michigan Street Baptist Church; James M. Whitfield, the poet and author, was closely associated with the East Presbyterian Church (Colored) on Elm Street: "Whereas, William Cooper, a resident of this city, himself a fugitive slave, has endeavored to betray into slavery his wife, who has for more than twenty years been legally free, therefore, Resolved, That we pledge ourselves individually that we will not associate with William Cooper, nor permit him to enter our houses; and that we will discountenance any colored person who shall hereafter associate with him, or permit him on their premises."etc. At a large and enthusiastic meeting of the colored citizens of Buffalo, held pursuant to previous notice at the Vine Street Methodist Church, on Tuesday evening, March 3rd, Peyton Harris was appointed Chairman, and J.M. Whitfield, Secretary. On motion, a Committee of three was appointed by the Chair, consisting of Rev. Deaton Dorrell, Rev. D.W. Anderson, and A.S. Brokenborough, to prepare a resolution of the expressive of the sentiments of the meeting.-- The committee reported the following resolutions, which were received, and after a general discussion adopted by acclamation, only three persons dissenting (The names of those three persons are Eliza Dover, Mary Ann Field and N.D. Thompson).	Christopher Densmore, "Reform, Religion, and the UGRR," Buffalo Courier, March 5, 1857,
1857	Jane Davis		Thomas Garrett	"The appended letter, from Thomas Garrett: OLD JANE DAVIS—FLED TO ESCAPE THE AUCTION-BLOCK. WILMINGTON, 6 mo., 9th, 1857. Esteemed Friend Wm. Still: We have here in this place, at Comegys Munson's an old colored woman, the mother of twelve children, one half of which has been sold South. She has been so ill used, that she was compelled to leave husband and children behind, and is desirous of getting to a brother who lives at Buffalo...Jane did not know how old she was. She was probably sixty or seventy. She fled to keep from being sold. She had been "whipt right smart," poorly fed and poorly clothed, by a certain Roger McZant, of the New Market District, Eastern Shore of Maryland. His wife was a "bad woman too." Remembering that four of her children had been snatched away from her and sold South, and she herself was threatened with the same fate, she was willing to suffer hunger, sleep in the woods for nights and days, wandering towards Canada...Before reaching a place of repose she was three weeks in the woods, almost wholly without nourishment"	William Still, UGRR, “Buffalo” http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15263/15263-h/15263-h.htm
1860		1	Louisa Picquet, H.H. Mattison	"Methodist minister and abolitionist Hiram Mattison met and interviewed Louisa Picquet in Buffalo, New York, in May 1860. He became passionate about her attempts to free her mother from slavery, but was unsuccessful in getting her cause on the agenda of a Methodist bishops' meeting. "SUSPECTED AND REPULSED BY A "FRIEND OF THE COLORED PEOPLE." : WHEN Mrs. P. first came to Buffalo, she had brought a letter to Rev. Mr. --, a Baptist minister residing there, and also one to Rev. Mr. Hill, a delegate from the Erie Conference; but for some cause they could not then aid her, as she had hoped. She accordingly passed on to New York; but, on her return Mr. Hill seemed disposed to do something for her. etc".	Buffalo.UGRR.Picquet http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/picquet/summary.html Louisa Picquet, the Octoroon, or, Inside Views of Southern Domestic Life. New York: Hiram Mattison, 1861.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INCIDENTS FROM PRIMARY SOURCES
BUFFALO, NEW YORK

Year	Name of Fugitives	Number of Fugitives	Names of Helpers	Description	Sources
1830s	Betsy Robinson, Baker Robinson et al.	9		The enslaved Robinson family of Virginia, under threat to be sold "South" decided instead to escape to Canada. "We walked all the way," she (Betsy) says. "There was no railroads in them days, an' I don't remember's we got any wagon-rides. You see, we was so many, nine in all. I remember we went to Erie, and came through Fredonia. We walked through Buffalo—it was little then, you know—and down the river road. My father missed the Black Rock ferry an' we went away down where the bridge is now. I remember we had to walk back up the river, and then we got brought across to Fort Erie. That was a good while before the Canadian Rebellion."	Betsy Robinson, Severance (1899), 241-42, quoted in Van Ness, 89-90. Frank H. Severance, Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier, (Buffalo: Mathews-Northrup Co., 1899). 195. http://www.archive.org/details/oldtrailsniagara00severich' http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227
			several people	"While connected with the Underground Railroad in Buffalo word was sent us that a colored man from Detroit, a traitor to his color, was coming to Buffalo. This man made a business of informing Southerners of the whereabouts of their slaves, and was paid a good sum for those recovered. When we heard that he was coming a meeting was held and a committee appointed to arrange for his reception. After being here a few days, not thinking that he was known, he was met by the committee and taken out in the woods where the Parade House now stands. Here he was tied to a tree, stripped and cow-hided until he was almost dead. He lay for a time insensible in a pool of his own blood. Finally regaining consciousness, he made his way back into Buffalo and...complained to the city authorities, his assailants were identified, arrested, and locked up in the old jail. After a time the excitement caused by the affair subsided and the men were let out one day without having been tried. The sympathy of the sheriff, and probably that of the community as a whole, was plainly not with the renegade who got flogged.	Frank Severance, Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier (1899), 242-44. http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36974/36974-h/36974-h.htm#Page_227
	n.d.	1		An "old resident of Buffalo" is to be credited with the following reminiscence: "I remember one attempt that was made to capture a runaway slave. It was right up here on Niagara Street. The negro ventured out in daytime and was seized by a couple of men who had been on the watch for him. The slave was a muscular fellow, and fought desperately for his liberty; but his captors began beating him over the head with their whips, and he would have been overpowered and carried off if his cries had not attracted the attention of two Abolitionists, who ran up and joined in the scuffle. It was just above Ferry Street, and they pulled and hauled at that slave and pounded him and each other until it looked as though somebody would be killed. At last, however, the slave, with the help of his friends, got away and ran for his life, and the slave-chasers and the Abolitionists dropped from blows to high words, the former threatening prosecutions and vengeance, but I presume nothing came of it."	Frank L. Severance, Trails (1899), 245-46

APPENDIX I: THE STORUM FAMILY HISTORY

The following information regarding the Storum Family was compiled by Tanya Lee Warren in October 2012 as part the Michigan Street Baptist Church Historic Structure Report. William and Mary Storum were active members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in the mid to late nineteenth century.

Generation No.1

1. AFRICAN[1] STORUM was born in Africa, and died in Dutchess Co., NY. He married IROQOUIS INDIAN WIFE.

Child of AFRICAN STORUM and IROQOUIS WIFE is:
2. i. CHARLES[2] STORUM, b. 1751, Fishkill, Dutchess, NY; d. 1854, Warren, Warren, PA.

Generation No. 2

2. CHARLES[2] STORUM *(AFRICAN[1])* was born about 1743 in Fishkill, Dutchess, NY[1], and died about 1843 in Warren, Warren, PA. He married **MARY POLLY ANN FOWLER** Abt. 1781 in Windsor, CT[1]. She was born in Canada, and died Abt. 1825 in New Hartford, Oneida, NY.

Notes for CHARLES STORUM:

"Charles Storum, of Duchess County, New York, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and did valiant service for the independence of this Republic. He died in 1843 at the age of one hundred years." (*http://www.freefictionbooks.org/books/t/20387-twentieth-century-negro-literature?start=62*)

"In the summer of 1777, he went to Fort Montgomery, though his job there was unclear. Since he had foraged and worked in the hospital in Fishkill it is probable that he did the same duties at Fort Montgomery. However the significance of his stay at Fort Montgomery was that he was at the Fort when the British besieged it. He noted that "General George Clinton was in command stated every man to make his escape that could and he himself escaped into the river and swam away safely." Charles stated that he escaped by taking a baggage wagon and driving it away from the British back to Fishkill. ...A discharge from service, when the battles continued in other parts of the country enticed Charles to leave the Hudson Valley and look to Yorktown, Virginia.

Charles, was about 30 years of age and though discharged from his service in Fishkill, he went to Yorktown and signed up for service. Again, as in Fishkill Charles assumed that he was an active participant in the Revolutionary War, whether or not he had official papers is not clear, as his name does not appear in the rosters of Yorktown. In Yorktown, he stated that he worked as an aide to Captain or Colonel Hopkins where he served eight months. In 1781, when Cornwallis surrendered Charles was there to witness the historic event." (*http://thestorumfamily.blogspot.com/2012/06/life-of-charles.html#!/2012/06/life-of-charles.html)*

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_McKnight

Charles Storum, Sr.

The following information is from "The Life of Charles" *http://thestorumfamily.blogspot.com/#!/2012/06/charlesan-introduction.html* which references Jane Beecher's *Fireflies to Freedom,* 1999.

Charles told the story of his life in the confines of the military service. It is a detailed account. While he was not issued a rifle I'm sure he probably had one but was not involved in the actual fighting. He was assigned to forage & cut wood for the hospital in Fishkill under direction of Dr. Charles McKnight (Pension Record).

Charles McKnight served as a surgeon and physician in the Hospital Department of the Continental Army under General George Washington and other subordinate commanders

(Note: Charles was not awarded his pension as his service was not considered "military" in nature. TLW) Died in Warren, PA while living as widower with son Samuel.

More About CHARLES STORUM
Date born 2: 1743, Family tradition
Census: 1800, East Windsor, CT

Military service: Revolutionary War; enlisted in the spring of 1776 as a private in the Continental Army, at Fishkill, New York under Colonel Hugh Q. Hughes and Dr. Charles McKnight. The churches of Fishkill became hospitals. Charles cites in his 1836 pension application that he entered such a hospital as an assistant or waiter to Doctor McKnight who was the surgeon of a Fishkill hospital.

http://www.fishkillsupplydepot.org/welcome.html

Between 1777-1779, he performed service at Fort Montgomery (New York) during the siege then went back to Fishkill where he was discharged 1779.

Occupation: 1781, Whaling as third mate.
Residence 1: Between 1781 - 1801, East Windsor, CT
Residence 2: 1801, Rome & New Hartford, Oneida, NY
Residence 3: 1836, Conewango, (Warren or Glade Township) PA

Notes for MARY POLLY ANN FOWLER:

"...documented reference that noted that in 1786 Mary Ann Fowler, commonly called Polly had come "to northern New York State by oxcart with Charles Storum, a half Indian, half Negro. "

Whaling offered free Negro men a refuge of safety and a way to keep their freedom. Seamen possessed papers indicating their freedom, and Charles took this occupation as an avenue to remain free.

Later in his life Charles had a cart pulled by a mule with which he traveled between each of his son's homes. He enjoyed visiting with his grandchildren. It seemed that his wanderlust never quite left him. One of the Loguen children commented that they never quite knew where he was and feared he would die wandering around the countryside. However, the records indicated that he had slowed down in his late 80's and did less traveling. *http://thestorumfamily.blogspot.com/#!/2012/06/life-of-charles.html*

Children of CHARLES STORUM and MARY FOWLER are:

3. i. SAMUEL[3] STORUM, b. 1784, Windsor, CT; d. 1853, Glade, Warren, PA.
4. ii. **WILLIAM HENRY STORUM**, SR., b. 1788, Windsor, CT.
5. iii. JOHN STORUM, b. 1790, Windsor, CT; d. 26 Dec 1870, Mayfield, Lapeer, MI.
6. iv. **CHARLES STORUM**, JR., b. 1793, Windsor, CT; d. Hounsfield, Jefferson, NY.

Generation No. 3

3**.** SAMUEL[3] STORUM *(CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1784 in Windsor, CT, and died 1853 in Glade, Warren, PA. He married MARY ANN SANDS. She was born 1805 in NY, and died 1853 in Glade Run, Warren, PA of small pox.

4. **WILLIAM HENRY[3] STORUM, SR**. *(CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1788 in Windsor, CT. He married SARAH ANN GOMER.

Notes for WILLIAM HENRY STORUM, SR.:

"Mr. and Mrs. Storum emigrated from New Hartford, (Oneida County) in the State of New York, to Busti, in 1816, when Chautauqua County was new. They traveled in an ox cart, with all their effects, and purchased and took possession of one hundred and forty acres of good land, cleared and subdued it to a high state of cultivation, and made it one of the best farms of the county. They were both slightly tinged with African blood; but nevertheless were estimated by their lives and character among the well-informed and estimable citizens. Caroline was privileged with the best education country opportunities afforded. The standing and respectability of the family always protected her against prejudice of color, which affects so many of her race."

Jermaine Loguen, *http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/loguen/loguen.html*

Collection: African American Newspapers
Publication: FREDERICK DOUGLASS PAPER
Date: September 2, 1853
Location: Rochester, New York

Letter from J. W. Loguen.

MY DEAR SISTER MARY ANN: - You wish to hear something about the Rochester Convention. You say that you have not seen Frederick Douglass Paper recently and, therefore, that the good people in Busti yet remain in the dark about the doings at Rochester, on the 6th, 7th and 8th of July. - Frederick Douglass Paper makes a friendly visit to our house every week, as regularly as the week comes. I am afraid, dear May, that you do not treat it well. It is a great lover of company. It likes to talk with all about the house; and it will be found to have talked matter enough to interest all, be they many or few. It may be that it has grown tired of going alone so far back into old Chautauqua. Let the town of Busti send out fifty names with one hundred dollars, and you will have a grand and glorious party visiting your neighborhood weekly. I know this would be pleasing to our good father Storuym (Storum). He has fought single handed for many years "in behalf of the poor slave. - and oh! When he thinks of poor Harrison having been kidnapped out of his barn yard by the hell hounds of Buffalo & Co., how it makes his heart bleed. Let fifty numbers of Frederick Douglass Paper come to Busti weekly, and I assure him that no more Harrisons will be taken from that place.

Residence: 1816, Farm on Sanbury Road, Busti, NY

Children of WILLIAM STORUM and SARAH GOMER are:

i. WILLIAM HENRY[4] STORUM, JR., b. 1814, Whitestown, Oneida, NY.

11. ii. **CAROLINE STORUM**, b. 1817, Busti, Chautauqua, NY; d. 17 Aug 1867, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY. **Married Jermaine W. Loguen**

iii. JULIETTE STORUM, b. 1820, Busti, Chautauqua, NY.

iv. SARAH MARINDA STORUM, b. 1825, Busti, Chautauqua, NY.

v. FRANCES CATHERINE STORUM, b. 1822, Busti, Chautauqua, NY.

vi. EDWARD LLOYD GARRISON STORUM, b. 1835, Busti, Chautauqua, NY.

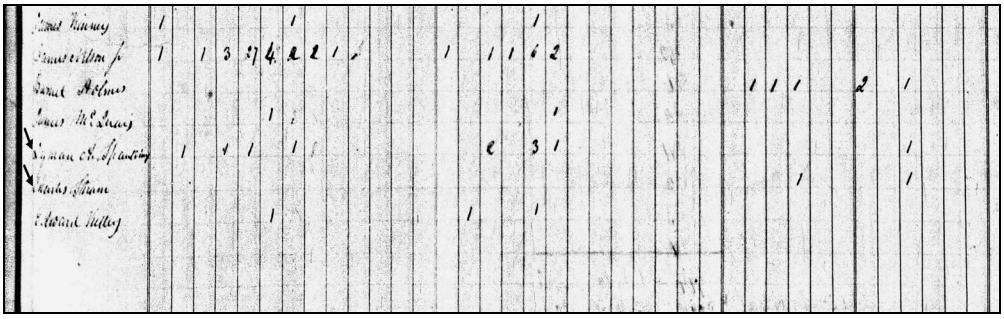
vii. RICHARD ALEXANDER STORUM, b. 1835, Busti, Chautauqua, NY.

5. JOHN[3] STORUM *(CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1790 in Windsor, CT, and died 26 Dec 1870 in Mayfield, Lapeer, MI. He married MARY POLLY HILL.

6. CHARLES[3] STORUM, JR. *(CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1793 in Windsor, CT[2], and died in Hounsfield, Jefferson, NY[2]. He married **SEREPTA** Abt. 1813[2].

Notes for CHARLES STORUM, JR.:
Rome Telegraph via Fulton History.com
Census 1820, Hounsville, Jefferson, NY with one son and 2 daughters and wife
1830, Hounsfield, Jefferson, NY
Has mail waiting for him at the Post Office at Rome, Oneida Co., NY in Oct 1836
1840, Lockport, Niagara, NY. Likely the Charles "Strum" living next door to Lyman Spalding.

1840 census of Lockport, Niagara, NY. Charles Storum("Strum") next to Lyman Spalding:



Child of CHARLES STORUM and SEREPTA is:

12. i. **WILLIAM[4] STORUM**, (Nephew of William Henry Storum, Sr.) b. 1815, Hounsfield, Jefferson, NY; d. 15 Jan 1891, Wash. D. C. at the home of his son James.

12. WILLIAM[4] STORUM *(CHARLES[3], CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1815 in Hounsfield, Jefferson, NY[4], and died 15 Jan 1891 in Wash. D. C.[5]. He married **MARY A. CANNADY**[6]. She was born 1814 in Sussex Co., VA[6], and died 22 Oct 1877 in Buffalo, Erie, NY[7,8].

He & wife Mary are active members of the Michigan Street Baptist Church.

Twentieth Century Negro Literature: Or, A Cyclopedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro, By Daniel Wallace Culp. J.L. Nichols & Company, 1902. pp. 74-77. via Google Books

Arrives in Buffalo, NY between 1842 & 1844[13]
1844, Works on the Lake[9,10]
1844, Lives at 53 Elm St., Buffalo, NY[12,13]
1850, Works as a cook[8]
1850, Buffalo, NY, Ward 4
1860, Buffalo, NY, Ward 5

Notes for WILLIAM STORUM:

Property: Had a mortgage loaned to him by Robert Talbot.[11]

It was also shown that before and after the assignment Talbert provided Storum with goods and provisions, and advanced moneys to and rendered services for him, and that this practice continued for years. These facts were established by the undisputed evidence of Storum's sister and by the testimony of other witnesses.

NYS Superior court, Case "TALBERT v. STORUM. (Supreme Court, Appellate Division, Fourth Department.) 1896

Action by Anna Maria Talbert, as administrator of Robert Talbert, against James Storum, as administrator of William Storum, to recover $1,000 on a certificate of insurance issued to decedent. There was a judgment in favor of plaintiff, and defendant appeals. Affirmed.

The Mutual Reserve Fund Life Association issued a certificate of membership—No. 14,368—to William Storum, which contained the following provisions material to this litigation: "Within ninety days after receipt of satisfactory evidence to the association of the death of the above-named member, during the continuance of this certificate of membership, there shall be **payable to the legal representatives of William Storum (self) of Washington, District of Columbia**, United States of America, the sum of one thousand dollars from the death fund of the association at the time of said death… October 20, 1883, William Storum, assigned said certificate and all interest therein to Robert Talbert, by an instrument under seal. Talbert was an agent of the association, and procured said certificate to be issued, paid the initiation fee and all of the assessments and sums which have fallen due thereon, and kept the certificate in force until January 15, 1891, when the **member died intestate, leaving him surviving James Storum, a son, and Serepta Storum, a daughter, his sole next of kin**. August 3, 1883, **Serepta Storum procured a certificate of membership in said association for her father for $1,000, which she kept in force during his life, for her benefit.** James Storum was appointed administrator of the estate of William Storum. August 6, 1901, the association paid into court the sum directed, and October 7, 1801, a supplementary summons and complaint was served upon James Storum, as administrator, who was brought in as sole defendant, and, July 10,1892, he answered herein. December 13, 1802, Robert

Talbert, the original plaintiff, died Intestate, and February 3, 1893, Anna Maria Talbert was duly appointed administrator of his estate, and by an order of this court entered March 3, 1893, this action was revived and continued in her name. July 12, 1894, upon the stipulation of the parties, the action was referred to a referee to hear and determine who found that the plaintiff was entitled to the sum paid into court. *http://books.google.com/books?pg=PA1047&lpg=PA1047&dq=james+storum&sig=vXNdzE6DotN1E_5Ps6sA26usdZg&ei=YHt5UOf3MMu_0QGC-oCQCQ&id=m47AAAAIAAJ&ots=v0KHDm_tbI&output=text)*

Children of WILLIAM STORUM and MARY CANNADY are:

16. i. **JAMES E.[5] STORUM**, b. 31 Mar 1844, NY.
ii. **ALICE SEREPTA STORUM[13]**, b. 1849, NY[13]; d. 12 Mar 1896, Buffalo, Erie, NY[14].
Notes for ALICE SEREPTA STORUM:

Serepta Storum sang at the 1870 celebration of the passage of the 15th amendment in Buffalo, NY. She was working and teaching at hospitals for the poor in Wash. DC in the 1880-1893 period. She died 12 Mar 1896 in Buffalo. Member of the Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo where her funeral was held. *TLW MSBC Database 2012*

Residence: 1849-1880, Living with her father in Buffalo at Pine St. house.
1881, Moved to Wash.D. C. (where her brother lived) to teach.

16. JAMES E.[5] STORUM *(WILLIAM[4], CHARLES[3], CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])[17]* was born 31 Mar 1844 in NY[17]. He married CARRIE CAROLINE GARRETT[17] 13 Jul 1872 in Washington D. C.[17]. She was born 1848 in Virginia[17].

"The Michigan Street Baptist Church in Buffalo is another well-known landmark often associated with the Underground Railroad. A lesser known element in that structure's history is that of a former pastor, James Storum... James Storum was born in Buffalo in 1847. His grandfather, Charles Storum, was thought to be a Revolutionary War soldier. James eventually joined the Michigan Street Baptist Church. From there, he went on to become a teacher at the Wayland Seminary in Virginia."
http://www.wnylrc.org/documentView.asp?docid=400

Notes for **JAMES E. STORUM, son of William of Buffalo**:

"Prof. James Storum was born in the city of Buffalo, New York, March 31, 1847. His mother, Mary Cannady, was a native of Sussex County, Virginia, where she lived for twelve years, when her father sold his farm and moved to Ohio and located with his wife and eight children near Urbana. His mother was a woman of strong character, deep religious convictions, and piety, and full of energy and enterprise, a counterpart of which is seen in her worthy son.

His grandfather, Charles Storum, of Duchess County, New York, was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and did valiant service for the independence of this Republic. He died in 1843 at the age of one hundred years.

Prof. Storum began his school life in the public schools of his native city (Buffalo). He was admired by his associates for his manly qualities and good fellowship, and was held in high esteem by his teachers for his studious habit and exemplary deportment. At the age of thirteen he embraced religion and united with the Michigan Street Baptist Church, where both his parents were useful and active members.

He frequently heard his parents express their purpose to send him to college, and as he grew older and better able to appreciate the value of education, the desire grew very strong within him to fit himself for a larger field of usefulness. In due time he entered Oberlin College, and after spending eighteen months in

the preparatory department he entered the college proper, and graduated with the class of 1870.

Immediately after his graduation, Prof. Storum came to the city of Washington to teach in Wayland Seminary, one of the schools fostered by the Baptist Home Mission Society. He taught at Wayland thirteen years. Here, as in every walk in life, he exerted a most wholesome influence over the young men and women attending the seminary, whose graduates are found in all parts of this country. They delight to speak of the inspiration and high incentive they received from Prof. Storum while under his instruction.

After leaving Wayland, Prof. Storum taught in the public schools of Washington one year, whence he was called to the city of Petersburg, Virginia, to organize the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, provided for by the Legislature of the "Old Dominion." He remained here three years and endeared himself to the pupils of the new school and to the citizens of Petersburg, irrespective of race, political bias or denominational creeds. He then returned to Washington and from that time until the present he has been teaching in the public high school.

Prof. James Storum in 1902 /NYPL #413900

Prof. Storum has ever been interested in and connected with the various enterprises whose aim has been the improvement and elevation of the Colored people. For five years he was secretary of the Capital Savings Bank of Washington and a member of the Board of Directors of the Industrial Building and Savings Company. For three consecutive years Prof. Storum was president of the Bethel Literary and Historical Society, the most prominent association of its kind in the country. Through his influence and by his energy the library and reading room were established and are now the most interesting and prominent features of the society."

Twentieth Century Negro Literature: Or, A Cyclopedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro, By Daniel Wallace Culp. J.L. Nichols & Company, 1902. pp. 74-77. via Google Books

Continuing the connection between the Storum, Loguen & Douglass families:

11. CAROLINE[4] STORUM *(WILLIAM HENRY[3] (see above), CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])[3]* was born 1817 in Busti, Chautauqua, NY, and died 17 Aug 1867 in Syracuse, Onondaga, NY. She married **JERMAIN WESLEY LOGUEN** 1840 in Busti, Chautauqua, NY[3], son of DAVID LOGUE and JANE CHERRY. He was born 05 Feb 1813 in Davidson Co., Tennessee, and died 30 Sep 1872 in Saratoga Springs, NY**. Her uncle was William Storum of Buffalo, NY.**

Notes for CAROLINE STORUM:

(In Syracuse) Mrs. Loguen worked tirelessly to provide fugitives with food, clothing, and healthcare using Native American techniques shared by a local group of Iroquois women who visited often. (Keeter 96) Both buried in Oakwood Cemetery, Syracuse, NY. Cause of death for both: TB

Jermaine Wesley Loguen *Caroline Storum Loguen*
http://www.founders.howard.edu/hucollection/SimpsonWilliamH2.htm

Children of CAROLINE STORUM and JERMAIN LOGUEN are:

i. ELIZABETH LATIECHA[5] LOGUEN[3], b. 1842, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY.
ii. **HELEN AMELIA LOGUEN, b. 1844, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY[3]; m. LEWIS H. DOUGLASS, 1869, Syracuse, NY[3]; b. 09 Oct 1840, New Bedford, MA; d. 1907, Washington D. C..**
iii. GERRIT SMITH LOGUEN, b. 1849, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY.
14. iv. **MARINDA SARAH LOGUEN**, b. 29 Jan 1850, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY; d. Jun 1933, Washington D. C..
v. WILLIAM LOGUEN, b. 1852, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY.
15. vi. **MARY LOGUEN**, b. 1854, Syracuse, Onondaga, NY.

14. MARINDA SARAH[5] LOGUEN *(CAROLINE[4] STORUM, WILLIAM HENRY[3], CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 29 Jan 1850 in Syracuse, Onondaga, NY, and died Jun 1933 in Washington D. C.. She married **CHARLES A. FRASER** 19 Sep 1882 in Syracuse, NY[15].

Notes for MARINDA SARAH LOGUEN:

"Marinda Sarah Loguen**, later called Sarah**, graduated from the Syracuse University College of Medicine in 1876, one of the first African American women in the country to become a doctor. After working Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, D.C., she went to Puerto Plata, Santo Domingo, where she married Charles A. Fraser and lived until 1897. She returned to Syracuse and bought a house on Westcott Street, where she lived for four years."

http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/loguen.jermain.wesley.html

Dr. Sarah Loguen Fraser practiced family medicine, pediatrics, and obstetrics for over 50 years, belonged to a pioneering African American professional association, the Order of Malachites, and was honored by Howard University in 1926. *http://www.hws.edu/academics/english/fraser.aspx*

Dr. Sarah Loguen Fraser
http://www.hws.edu/academics/english/fraser.aspx

"Sarah Loguen Fraser's decision to enter medical school was one that did not lack support: she was encouraged by her family to fight for humanity and equality, as they were continuously doing so

themselves in their efforts with abolition." (Goins Collection at Howard University).

Loguen Fraser was now not only among the small group of women medical graduates in the United States, but also historians estimate that she was the fourth African American woman to earn the medical degree (Luft 149). Perhaps most important, she was the first African American, male or female, to graduate from Syracuse University College of Medicine.

Dr. Sarah Loguen Fraser
http://www.hws.edu/academics/english/fraser.aspx

Dr. Loguen Fraser moved to Washington, D.C. during the summer of 1879**. (Where she lived with her brother-in-law Lewis Douglass, son of Frederick and next door to James Storum, her second cousin-see below)**

In 1881, after serving internships in pediatric-obstetric medicine at the Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia and the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston, she moved to the home of her older sister, (Helen) Amelia (Douglass), in Washington, D.C., and went into private practice. The eminent writer Frederick Douglass, Amelia's father-in-law and a longtime friend and political ally of the Loguen family, presented the young doctor with a "shingle" to hang in the window of her office. With neither of Sarah's parents alive, Douglass took it upon himself to find her a suitable husband. To that end, he arranged an exchange of letters with Dr. Charles Fraser, a well-to-do pharmacist and plantation owner who lived in Puerto Plata in the Dominican Republic. Fraser, who was of Afro-Caribbean and Danish descent, came to the United States, and following a brief courtship, the couple married in Syracuse in 1882, sailing from New York to Puerto Plata a week after their wedding. They had one child. (Gregoria Fraser Goins married John Goins) Burial: Lincoln Memorial Cemetery, Washington DC.

Child of MARINDA LOGUEN and CHARLES FRASER is:

i. GREGORIA[6] FRASER, b. 1883, Santo Domingo.

Note: Goins, Gregoria F. "Miss Doc," book-length typescript biography of her mother, Sarah Loguen Fraser, contained in Box 36-4, Folders 51-52, and an unpublished biography, "Princess of the Underground Railroad," written by Gregoria Fraser Goins, and other relevant papers and artifacts are collected in the John Goins Papers at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University. Other relevant documents are held by the Onondaga Historical Association in Syracuse, New York.

15. MARY[5] LOGUEN *(CAROLINE[4] STORUM, WILLIAM HENRY[3], CHARLES[2], AFRICAN[1])* was born 1854 in Syracuse, Onondaga, NY. She married JAMES CROMWELL, a Syracuse barber. He was born Abt. 1842, and died 03 Oct 1912 in Syracuse, Onondaga, NY.

More About MARY LOGUEN:

Medical Information: Suffered from mental illness and tried numerous times to commit suicide. Was eventually committed to the Onondaga County Asylum.

Residence 1: 1880, **Living with Lewis Douglass in Wash. DC with her son Jermaine L. Cromwell and with sister Dr. M. Sarah Loguen (and next door to James Storum, her second cousin)**

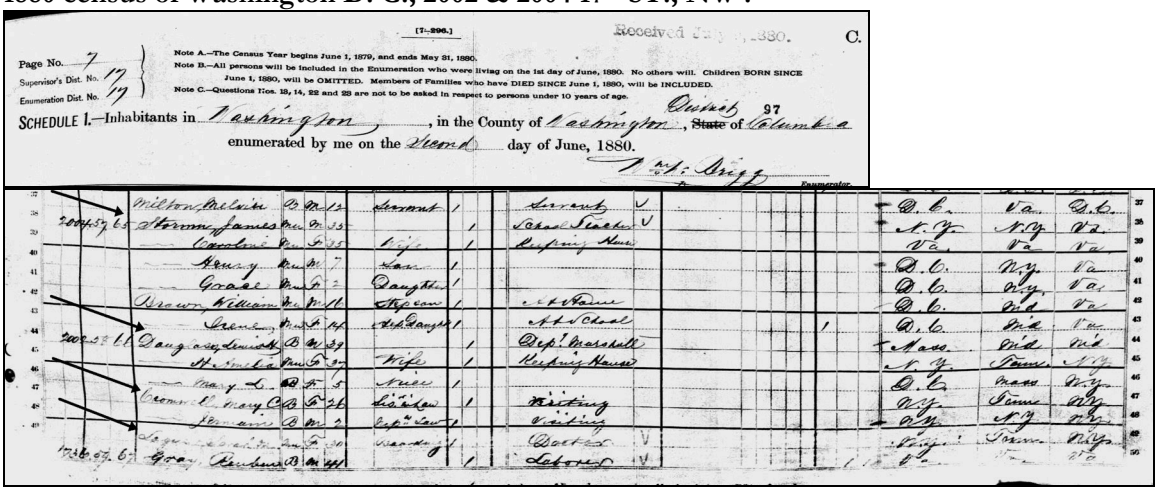
Residence 2: 1902, 311 Walnut Ave. Syracuse, NY

Children of MARY LOGUEN and JAMES CROMWELL are:

i. JERMAINE LOGUEN[6] CROMWELL, b. 1878.
ii. AMELIA CROMWELL, m. WILLIAM A. ROBERTS; d. , Tuskagee, AL[16].
iii. CATHERINE CROMWELL.

In 1880 to 1900's, James Storum & family lived next door to Lewis H. Douglass, son of Frederick Douglass[17]

1880 census of Washington D. C., 2002 & 2004 17th ST., NW :



Page No. 7
Supervisor's Dist. No. 17
Enumeration Dist. No. 17

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.
Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.
Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE I.—Inhabitants in Washington, in the County of Washington, District of Columbia, State of ~~State~~ 97
enumerated by me on the 22nd day of June, 1880.

Enumerator.

Arrows:

James Storum: son of William Storum of Buffalo
Lewis H. Douglass: son of Frederick Douglass
Mary (Loguen) Cromwell: Sister of Lewis' wife, Helen A. Loguen Douglass
Sarah M. Loguen: Sister of Lewis' wife, Helen A. Loguen Douglass

"Since the earliest developments in the 1870s, the area (Striver's Section Historic District) has been associated with African American leaders in business, education, politics, religion, art, architecture, science and government. The most important of these figures was Frederick Douglass, runaway slave, abolitionist, orator, writer and civil servant, often called the Father of the Civil Rights Movement. Douglass built the southern three buildings of a five-house, Second Empire style row at 2000-2008 17th Street in 1875-76. His son inherited the houses from his father and lived at 2002 from 1877 until his death in 1908. The area was also home to other notables. James E. Storum, the educator and entrepreneur who founded the Capital Savings Bank, the first African American owned banking institution in DC lived at 2004 17th St." *http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/wash/dc49.htm*

Corner 17th St. & U St. - Shown below, #2000- (corner), #2002-Home of Lewis Douglass & #2004-Home of James Storum:

http://www.geolocation.ws/v/W/File:17th%20and%20U%20-%20northwest%20corner.JPG/-/en

Endnotes for Appendix I: The Storum Family History

1. http://thestorumfamily.blogspot.com/2012/06/life-of-charles.html#!/2012/06/life-of-charles.html.
2. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
3. http://www.math.buffalo.edu/~sww/0history/loguen.jermain.wesley.html.
4. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
5. http://books.google.com/books?pg=PA1047&lpg=PA1047&dq=james+storum&sig =vXNdzE6DotN1E_5Ps6sA26usdZg&ei =YHt5UOf3MMu_0QGC-oCQCQ&id=m-47AAAAIAAJ&ots=v0KHD.
6. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
7. Buffalo Courier, Feb 3 1878.
8. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
9. 1844 Buffalo Directory.
10. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
11. http://books.google.com/books?pg=PA1047&lpg=PA1047&dq=james+storum&sig =vXNdzE6DotN1E_5Ps6sA26usdZg&ei=YHt5UOf3MMu_0QGC-oCQCQ&id=m-47AAAAIAAJ&ots=v0KHD.
12. 1844 Buffalo Directory, http://nyheritage.nnyln.net/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=%2FVHB011&CISOPTR= 9202&REC=0&CISOBOX=william.
13. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo.FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.
14. Buffalo Express, 12 Mar 1896.
15. http://www.hws.edu/academics/english/fraser.aspx.
16. James Cromwell obituary, Syracuse Post Standard, Oct 1912.
17. Storum Wm & James of Buffalo. FTW, Date of Import: 12 Oct 2012.